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***JPRS Report***

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**East Europe**

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25 AUGUST 1987

## EAST EUROPE

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## ALIA'S VIEWS ON SOLVING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CITED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 May 87 p 2

[Article by Sami Milloshi: "For a More Lively Style, Combined with Concrete Solutions and Strict Control"]

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia's new book "Speeches and Conversations 1986," the second in the series of works by the leader of the party and the people, has attracted special interest among the wide mass of readers, workers, cooperative members, youth, communists and cadres, and among party and government officials. It represents another rich addition to the theoretical work of our party and a consistent continuation of Comrade Enver Hoxha's eternal work.

In this book are included speeches and conversations from January to May 1986, which analyze a series of cardinal problems that deal with the strengthening of the economy and the defense, and the further development of education and culture. In all these writings the reader experiences the party's great preoccupation with furthering our nation's achievement in all fields. Page after page, the reader senses that lively revolutionary atmosphere that became evident on the eve of the party's 9th congress, the enthusiasm of the masses to implement the tasks set by the 14th plenum of the Central Committee, and the advice Comrade Ramiz Alia gave in meetings with the people and cadres during visits to several districts. The period before the 9th party congress and particularly the period immediately following the congress saw an increase in the revolutionary mobilization of the masses, full of creativity and determination to increase production, further the development of education and science and engage in other activities. The good news we now receive from different districts on the improvement of the supplying of the population have their source precisely in the unshakable trust in the correct party line, and in the energies unleashed by Comrade Ramiz Alia's instructions. These achievements are a secure basis for further progress. The author provides a thorough scientific analysis of these problems and sets precise tasks for today and for tomorrow, with the emphasis that there is a need for a more lively style, accompanied by concrete solutions and strict control.

For the formulation of such a new energetic style, it is of utmost importance that party directives not be repeated in a mechanical manner. This very important instruction can be found in many writings included in this volume. The party has always demanded creative and passionate work in implementing its

directives. The party continues to insist on such an approach because as Comrade Ramiz Alia says, "...the dialectic teaches us that methods of work are not good or bad in themselves in all situations; they are such only with regard to specific tasks and times. The situation today is not usual and therefore it demands that more than ever our work be characterized by a militant and determined attitude and by excellent management and organization." From this follows the great instruction for every communist and worker that the objectives of the 9th party congress and of the latest plenums of the Central Committee cannot be met with the usual pace of work, with outdated thinking, and with "unchanging" concepts and practices. As has been proven by the tasks set by the third plenum of the Central Committee with respect to improving the supplying of the population, objectives are met through energetic activity on the part of party organs and basic organizations, and by communists and cadres which "add something" to party directives. Lushnje District provides the best example of a differentiated approach in implementing the party's directives in work with different people, youth, women, etc. This multifaceted implementation of party directives has to do, above everything else, with the basic political and ideological understanding of those directives and not simply with the way they are transmitted. These instructions are in contradiction with the practice when, nor rarely, more attention is devoted to whether to characterize the meetings as a seminar, an aktiv, confrontation, etc., and party directives are repeated instead of really examining the communists' and the basic organization's work with the people, rather than finding out how well the masses received these directives and what the chances are of their effective and rapid implementation. Why, for example, are many pledges made in meetings of basic party organizations and by party organs in the districts for the overfulfillment of objectives not carried out? Because directives are only repeated and the result is a vicious cycle of slogans: "The party instructs..." "We pledge before the party..." But what about results? Failure to live up to your pledge means the directives have not been understood and in some cases there is a tendency to extol oneself, which indicates there are weaknesses in links with the people.

The book emphasizes that a lively approach means rapid and qualitative work. This has to do with the unity between work and possible solutions. Just learning the methods of work in confronting problems means you do not look further than the immediate solution and that you become the victim of the usual routine. But the opposite of this tendency, neglecting the immediate solutions in the search for future "grandiose" solutions means that you are not keeping in mind that future problems cannot be solved without meeting current objectives. If, for example, there are repeated shortcomings in production, as is the case in chromium mines, the causes should be sought in the imbalance that is evident in the methods of management work, and between daily work and the solution of future problems. If the daily quota for the extraction of chromium is not met, then the quotas for the week, the month, six-months, etc., will also not be met. As a result we have deficits. And then what do we do? The management launches a campaign: "Let us launch a massive action to fulfill the plan." It is true that such campaigns give some results but, in the final analysis, they provide a means to cover up shortcomings in the management style of daily activities of party organs and basic organizations. And in daily activities are included the technical preparation of the machinery,

the establishment of work fronts, and the prospects of the mines. The exploitation of mines must absolutely abide by its scientific laws, otherwise the production prospects are hindered. This causes not a few problems for the managers in the districts or in central administration. And special groups are sent one after another, but despite the assistance they render, they find it difficult to straighten out the situation from above. The situation can be improved only by basic party organizations, communists and cadres in the mines by providing a thorough analysis of the problems. And finally by replacing global pledges, often unmotivated, "We will meet the targets for the six months," "We will meet the targets for the nine months," etc., etc., with the demand of accountability on the part of every communist and cadre, every day and every hour. Otherwise, if the demand for accountability is not met, there will be a continuation of the routine practice of occupying oneself with a thousand things during the day but not with the specialized functions of an expert and a cadre.

A lively work style does not tolerate situations where only the symptoms of the problem are noted. Why? Because this is not enough. Such an analysis does not deal with the root of the problem nor does it solve it. The situation is improved when, after an extensive analysis of the problem, measures are taken for its concrete solution. For example, last year Lezhe District was criticized for not ensuring enough supplies of eggs and it was economically costly to get them from Shkoder. What did the party and government authorities in Lezhe do? With a high communist awareness, they analyzed the criticism and discovered the reasons for the shortcomings. Then they formulated concrete measures to be taken, as the party instructs. With their own forces they build a poultry house, got the fowl and ensured the necessary food. There was no lack of control; on the contrary, as Comrade Ramiz instructs: "Issues connected with control can be furthered only by strengthening and improving all aspects of control." As a result, the situation was improved. Not through words and praise but through intensive work, by making this an issue of concern to all a serious problem. Other districts can learn a lot from Lezhe as to how to solve such problems. A lively style, as is proven not only in this case, is not the style of those individuals who are ready to engage in endless conversations and "great" discussions in meetings. This is the style of communists and cadres that are tackling passionately current problems and are meeting party demands to solve such problems the way the people want it: concretely and in a stable way. Because there can be no lively style of work, problems cannot be solved in a concrete and stable way without strict control of all the aspects of management. Let's take as an example the activity for the production of small items. In many districts the activity had a good start with healthy competition between different districts and enterprises as to who will greater increase the availability of these items in high demand. But only a few months passed before the competition faded out somewhat. This occurred because the control from the appropriate authorities lagged, while the workers' creativity is increasing and the possible reserves for the production of small items is great. And some managers that neglected this task now need supervision "from above" to get back on track.

The failure to take the initiative, the party teaches us, and especially the failure to support the creative initiative of the masses have nothing in common

with the lively style that is demanded today. On the contrary, these are manifestations of the fear on the part of some cadres and managers who suffer from the mania "never to make a mistake." Precisely this mania forces them to always act with "caution": "Comrade, how should we handle this issue or that one." And when they are correctly told "take your own initiative and do not always ask for advise," they shrug their shoulders and are unable to solve the problems by themselves. The economy today demands an increase in oil production, which naturally is not an easy task. But is it correct that some specialists in this sector are reluctant to open new fields or attempt to solve some complicated problems, believing "who knows how the whole thing might turn out?" Of course there are no ready prescriptions for such technical issues, but is this reluctance and waiting of little cost to the economy? No. It costs the economy considerably. Therefore, as is emphasized in Comrade Ramiz Alia's book: "It is necessary to reject, everywhere, senseless generalities and thoroughly analyze the situation. Only a concrete analysis, where things are given their proper names, is valid for the improvement of the situation. From party organizations and from managers we need a livelier style, necessarily combined with concrete solutions and strict control."

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## DRESDEN READER FAULTS ARTICLE'S UPBRIEF VIEW OF GDR

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 26, 27 Jun 87 p 13

[Text] It is interesting to read about your own country, especially when it is depicted by your neighbors. Unfortunately, by the time I finished reading, I was disappointed. Mr. Kozniewski touches in this article (POLITYKA No. 5) on many current problems, but it is difficult to agree with the entirety of the picture painted.

The text gives the impression of presenting the GDR, but in my opinion it only presents "Berlin under construction! Fourteen lands have been drafted for this endeavor. For some time, construction in Leipzig, Dresden and Rostock has slowed down, because enterprises from there have been called to Berlin." "For some time"--how long does it actually mean? One year, one decade, one generation? Recently I read in a GDR newspaper that "in Berlin, the achievements of socialism will be marked in a concentrated form." However, "one may get a car from the factory as late as 8 years" after he makes an order. I don't know, maybe in Berlin one can get a car in as little as 8 years, but in Dresden one has to wait for at least 12 years.

I don't know whether Mr. Kozniewski's friend has already received his apartment "which he is entitled to." I got my first separate apartment when I was 30, and while I waited I was not under the impression that I was entitled to something--an apartment which is not comfortable, in an unpleasant area but providing three of our basic elements: "warm" (for which I have to go and fetch briquetts from the cellar), "secure" (what is that supposed to mean?) and "dry" (this means that the rain is kept out of the kitchen and my bed).

I know that the housing situation in Poland is worse than in the GDR, but this is no reason to idealize our situation.

The author asks, betraying jealousy: "How do they do it?" Here is the answer: in a concentrated form. A solution to the problems is "within one's reach," but there is a lot of difference in how long the reach happens to be.

Mr. Kozniewski is impressed not only by the way in which the housing problem is solved and the rebuilding of the capital of the GDR, but also social welfare and the entire economic, trade and price policy, stable rents, urban transit fees, prices for bread, publications and many other basic items, e.g.

the lavishly published and beautifully compiled cultural monthly DAS MAGAZIN which has cost 1 mark since 1952.

To be sure, this magazine is beautifully compiled, very popular and costs only 1 mark. However, this magazine usually cannot be found at newsstands, and getting a new subscription is impossible. One of the basic principles of distributing cheap basic articles in short supply is at work here: he who has it--has it, he who doesn't have it--will have to wait. Is it fair that people without their own apartments, those living in apartments which are bad and small, pay indirectly for the residence of those who live in beautiful, comfortable and large, but cheap apartments? Is it fair for people from villages to pay indirectly for urban mass transit which they use once a month? Is it fair for people who do not own cattle to pay for cheap bread used for fodder?

The state pays subsidies. Excuse me, but who is the state? The state is all taxpayers, and none other. The state is all of us. In Kozniewski's opinion, the state "in all of this takes care diligently to ensure that the increased [supply of] higher grade goods does not force from the market inexpensive basic consumer items." Whether it is done "diligently" or not, something that makes no economic sense cannot be guaranteed in the long run. After all, "luxury" goods will later become basic goods, and new "luxury" goods will find their way to the market.

The author of the article diligently notes the statistics: increase in the number of dwellings built between 1970 and 1986, growth of the average net family income for workers and white-collar employees (of course, in nominal terms) and growth of national income over the last 15 years. However, statistical data do not exist for the growth of "luxury" items. It may be that we already use the entire increment in current income to pay for the "luxury" of changing colors of our plastic products.

The picture of reality in its entirety cannot be painted on the basis of official statistics alone. One should also talk to friends, acquaintances, neighbors, people in the streets, in the trains and in the bars.

In Kozniewski's view, the most important advantage of life in the GDR is in "guaranteed comprehensive social security, inexpensive education, housing, all social benefits, including health care." To be sure, much has been said about it, but what are "comprehensive" and "guaranteed" supposed to mean? Did he have the experience of going to a dentist, who would have liked to save the tooth, but, unfortunately, had no good material? This "comprehensive" health care does not exist, though good material can be obtained if one has connections.

I am in complete agreement with the author on one point: "The German prism focuses perhaps the most significant choice in the world facing the societies on the border of the 20th and 21st centuries."

(...) One more point. Kozniewski writes about trips between Berlin and Warsaw. As Kozniewski writes, recent attempts at integration could not be successful due to "differences in the level of economic development, customs

and domestic policies." As far as the differences are concerned, they already existed at the time the attempts were made, and at the time no obstacles were seen. At present, we have a situation whereby such trips are possible for the citizens of the FRG or West Berlin, but impossible for the citizens of an adjacent socialist state. (...) The problem of differences in customs could be solved, same as the problem of economic [development] levels and of vendors on Alexanderplatz as well. Personally, I would rather buy fresh eggs from Polish vendors at the Main Railway Terminal in Dresden than rotten eggs of the KIM (Breeding and Fattening Combine) producing eggs at the HO [Retail Trade Organization] shops. Even if I were to find out while frying them at home that the Polish "fresh eggs" are also old, then at least I would practice my Polish and recall how to speak. At present, except for this list to you, there is no opportunity for that (...).

I cannot imagine that integration of socialist countries would work without contacts between individuals and peoples. This is not only a political objective, but also a historic necessity, a lesson of the painful history of our peoples and of all Europe.

Bernd Kunzmann  
Dresden

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## FUNCTIONING OF LOCAL LEVEL GOVERNMENT REVIEWED

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP (supplement) in Hungarian 24 Apr 87 pp 1-7

[Report on the functioning of local government by Dr Tamas Barkoczy, Dr Pal Furcht, Imre Patko and Dr Imre Seereiner; edited by Geza Nemeth: "On The Road to Modernization."]

[Text] It really has only been a few years ago that the system of local councils again underwent a much-needed thorough transformation for the second time. Based on the 12 October 1983 memorandum of the MSZMP's Central Committee, the National Assembly passed Article II:1983 modifying the Constitution, and the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic modified Article I:1971 by issuing Decree No. 26 of 1983. It was, in fact, attributable to these two fundamental laws that in January 1984 administrative districts have been eliminated in Hungary, and for the first time in the history of the councils and, the proposed two-level administration (consisting of county and local councils) could begin to develop, under central supervision, of course.

However, since we could not immediately develop full and direct contacts between county and local councils, the Presidential Council of the People's Republic issued decree No. 23 of 1983, designating cities, towns with city privileges and suburban communities that would participate in the administration of counties. (In the case of Budapest, this caused no special problems, because relationship between the council of the capital city and those of the 22 city districts remained unchanged.) As for the 19 counties, 139 of the 143 councils in cities or towns with city privileges participate in the administration of counties. Berettyujfalu, Szazhalombatta, Turkeve and Tokaj are towns without environs.

We would like to use this supplement to show our readers how relations between counties and local councils developed during the past three years, how county administrations use the input of towns, and how the councils of towns and smaller communities cooperate with each other. We do this in order to allow our readers to draw the proper conclusions, and to contribute to the development of regional administration based on the political decision of 1986, namely to create the conditions for the transition to a bi-level local-regional administration, and to speed up the transition.

Without doing this, we could never, or only with great delays, accomplish the perfecting of the regional administrative system, or the increasing of its sphere of influence.

#### County, Town, Community

The move to modernize state supervision and administration is undertaken fundamentally to: --create as great opportunities as possible for strengthening the representative, self-autonomous and administrative functions of local councils, increasing their independence and sphere of responsibility, and broadening democratic practices in the activities of the local councils;

--allow the sphere of influence of local councils expand even more, while reducing the number of unnecessarily "regulated" relationships;

--provide the citizen with easier access to the administration of his affairs, which should become quicker, more proficient and better supported;

--raise the political and professional standards of supervisory and management organs in the towns, and especially in the smaller communities;

--provide stronger incentives for discovering and utilizing local participation, initiative and resources, while also involving the population in the work of solving local problems;

--improve the political, economic and administrative cooperation between communities that form functional units, and strengthen the actual role of associations;

--make sure that supervision and administration alike contribute more accessible, direct and effective assistance in implementing community development projects.

By now we can determine that the introduction of the new supervisory system and the solution of tasks closely related to this has been successfully accomplished. As far as the effectiveness of operation, however, there are still a number of discrepancies, many of which are inexcusable. In places where the administrative network has already expanded over the environs of the community, the transition was almost entirely problem-free. Reorganization was also unexpectedly easy in the former district seats, where the city council has already taken on additional functions, and developed its contacts with the neighboring communities. The situation was much more complicated, and thus the progress much slower, in places where simultaneous preparations had to be made for taking care of new, hitherto unknown problems associated with urbanization, as well as ones connected to the lives of smaller nearby communities. The transition was greatly eased by the fact that county councils and their functionaries assisted their local counterparts in forming administrative associations by offering monetary and personnel aid to them, by strengthening the staff at the regional centers and in the large towns coming under the direct control of the counties. As a result of the sufficiently

coordinated measures, the independence of local councils has been further improved, and the earlier justifiably criticized spoon-feeding style of supervision became less visible.

It is also worth acknowledging that this large-scale administrative reorganization occurred without causing significant interruption in serving the inhabitants, and the decentralization of administration also continued all along. In addition, we succeeded in achieving that most of the cases are taken care of locally, there are fewer appeals, and it has become the general practice to have cases taken care of legally and before deadlines. However, there are still plenty of factors that can be blamed for our acute sense of dissatisfaction: Problems with creating and applying legal measures, the counter-selection process negatively influencing the composition of personnel, the narrowing opportunities for quality modifications, the fiscal limits placed on modernizing working conditions, and even the course of development in state and work-place discipline.

Still, on the whole, the transition brought good results for both the populace and central leadership. Today, county organizations as well as specialized supervisory bodies deal much more intensively with the problems of smaller communities, obtaining valuable knowledge and direct experience which they can rely on in the course of their work. The most important factors are effective and continuous cooperation, modification of previous approaches, improved organization of work, elimination of excess motions, creation of the simplest possible administration of community work, and elimination of unnecessary or phoney activities on the part of the apparatus.

It is the task of the central leadership to pay closer attention to, and promote, the growing independence of local councils, as well as their responsibility. The primary tools of leadership are the introduction of the requisite amount of legal regulations, and the effective control of their application. As far as financial resources, much of them are under the control of local councils, and even their freedom of movement has been increasing, and thus local resources can be better utilized. In the final analysis, however, it is the elimination of unnecessary county and central restrictions that will allow the councils to make significant decisions in the most important economic and socio-political affairs of their jurisdictions, on issues that most critically influence the living conditions of the populace.

It was with these goals in mind that the regulations concerning the councils, the system of national planning, and monetary affairs have been modified. The recently introduced system of management by councils will primarily strengthen the autonomy of town and community councils, that is, of local representative bodies. Community development is increasingly dependent on the quality of local management and the cooperation between management bodies and the population. In order for results to improve in the desired manner, numerous and varying problems must be solved by the council bodies, the people in positions of responsibility and the workers of the apparatus.

Instead of simply "spending the money," they must manage their financial resources: This is the most important requirement! After all, it is our shared task to create the greatest possible value by economically managing the

material resources at our disposal. But this will only be possible if our investments are characterized by more circumspect organization and the application of rational solutions. After all, the populace is familiar with the situation our national economy is in, and as a result, urges an increased rate when it comes to moderating and eliminating regional differences in supply, as well as creating and improving a basic flow of supplies. For the same reason, more attention and consideration must be devoted to the development of associated communities as well.

Another source of significant resources is the cooperation between local councils, as well as between councils and outside bodies, in the areas of economics and supply. When it comes to taking care of community affairs or realizing community goals, the councils must demand and organize more intensive joint activities. And when it comes to efficient management, the councils should exhibit even more activity, initiative, independence and responsibility.

The system of approval involving two steps greatly increased the councils' opportunities for evaluating, synchronizing the various interests and making decisions, and at the same time increased the responsibility of specialized supervisory bodies. When the councils look at proposed projects for the second time--in the course of approving the detailed plans--they make their final decisions in full possession of the details; this gives them an opportunity to re-evaluate and, if necessary, correct their decisions made during the conception stage of projects.

The system provides opportunities for--and its regulations even require--involving the population, as well as various social and special interest groups, to a greater degree in preparing conceptual decisions, and organizing and checking the execution of plans. Accordingly, the opportunities afforded by the village-meetings--which have been at times ignored--should be utilized to a greater degree, because these are among the most fundamental means for actively involving the population. In other words, we should ask for the opinions and suggestions of the population well before making the decisions, and, inasmuch as possible, include these in our decisions. In this regard, the instantaneous and thorough information of the local populace is very important.

Understandably, greater local autonomy increased the role of coordination; thus, great attention must be paid to involving external organizations into the work of councils and to joint action involving them. Included in this area are the emphasized goals of community development, such as:

- the more proportional and better synchronized development of communities;
- emphasis on medium-sized and small towns, as well as smaller communities;
- the dissemination of more modern living conditions;
- increasing the retention ability of rural regions and moderating the flow of people to the cities;
- moderating the excessive differences in regional living conditions.

The best way county councils can support central goals is by promoting greater decision-making freedom for local councils, and by limiting their operative intervention in local affairs to exceptional cases. For, in spite of the fact that the demands are well known, we still frequently see excess "fussing" over details, even though improvements call, instead, for an increase in the continuous and timely information of local councils.

When it comes to effectiveness, a fundamental question is: How successful have we been in selecting regional centers and defining their areas of jurisdiction? For it is clear that the absence of actual attractions, and reliance on artificial administrative relationships, can only produce partial results. If for no other reason, the resulting situation should be examined, because the regional breakdown shows a diversification that cannot be wholly explained by the disparateness in settlement structures. For example: In Békés county, 9 town-environs were created to include 58 town and village councils; in Borsod-Abauj-Zemplén county, 10 town-environs came into existence to include 151 town and village councils. From county to county, the average number of councils within one environs is between 6 and 15; in 21 environs there are more than 16 local councils, while in 27 others there are 5 or fewer. In 14 environs there are more than 40 communities, and in 11 of them the population exceeds 60,000 people.

The jurisdictions of town-environs and non-council organs do not always coincide with each other. The regionalizing of certain organizations—such as the National Savings Bank (OTP) or the State Insurance Enterprise—frequently call for excessive "run-around." Thus, it may be worthwhile to review these issues and—if possible—improve coordination. Another related problem is that few of the 289 town councils are directly supervised by counties, and that 10 county councils do not take advantage of this opportunity at all.

#### Regional Relationships

In the cities, depending on the nature of the tasks involved, there should be either independent or cooperative actions undertaken in

- executing measures prescribed by regulations or by county councils and their authorized representatives;
- exercising primary and secondary jurisdictional tasks, supervising the activities of administrative bodies, including control and the summarization of experiences;
- promoting the development of specialized community supervision, as well as informing the county and the community of the experiences gained;
- and finally, promoting, coordinating and organizing cooperation among the various community councils, as well as between the councils and the non-council bodies.

The content of cooperation tasks depends on the county regulations. It is very important that the capacities of the counties or cities be continually

monitored, and the work be distributed accordingly. The paramount goal is to narrow the sphere and content of cooperative ventures at the pace dictated by the conditions created. It has even been suggested in a few places that—as an experiment—we should introduce direct supervision by the counties. To this, we can only answer that the present regulations are flexible enough so that, aside from licences connected to administrative affairs and a few other functions, the county organs have the freedom to act according to their own judgement.

General experience gained from examining the supervisory process shows that the definition of cooperation has been placed in the jurisdiction of working and control plans. In this manner, however, the city councils are not always able to exert their organizational influence; after all, they are not informed as to when and what tasks they must accomplish. There are places where most of the comprehensive inspections are performed by the centralized organs of the counties; and there are others where this task is left to the cities. The most unfortunate fact, however, is that there has been little change in the content of the inspections.

In any event, it has been made clear that the mechanically recurring inspections that require large staff and provide small results are no longer tenable. We can devote neither time nor energy on self-serving inspections focusing on "the fulfillment of plan," because they are unnecessary. In other words, the only time the communities should be subjected to comprehensive supervisory inspections only when information makes this absolutely necessary. We should also ensure that individual responsibility be consistently applied, because this is the weakest aspect of our present activities.

The graveness of the situation would be greatly lessened if organs of cooperating city councils would evaluate their experiences in enforcing legality, in administering cases and in the operation of institutions, as well as their cooperation with non-council organs. Based on information derived from working relations, their familiarity gained through primary and secondary administrative activities, as well as their examination of goals and projects, they could assist county organs without being specifically requested to do so. What is more, under certain circumstances, they could even initiate county-wide inspections.

Beyond all of the above, in certain areas it appears justified to review the presently prevailing approaches. For example, in numerous locations control is performed separately from management functions, although the two should be treated as closely connected. But—instead of evaluating how much control is based on the experience gained in the course of management, or did they perform inspections where it was really justified or did they insist on emphasizing the plan-schedule--there are still enough difficult problems in state administration.

Naturally, data provided by regional referees, participation in the meetings of local bodies, continuous on-site visits, and information routinely received from non-council organs are all valuable in developing a genuinely effective control system and must be utilized. In other words, whenever we notice a promising method or an effective practice, we should concentrate on the immediate application of management methods and the initiation of suitable

measures, because delayed reaction, or the ignoring of useful information is not permissible. And if the experience thus gained reveals broader functional shortcomings, we may have to re-evaluate our national or branch management practices.

It is perhaps needless to say that it is primarily the quality of execution that determines: will control be able to implement serious changes, that is, will it be able to contribute to raising the standards in activities under its jurisdiction? May we be allowed to contribute to this with advice.

The report containing the results of the inspection should be brief, concise, objective and critical; it should provide evaluation concerning the activities of the organ under inspection; present the changes compared to previous evaluations; indicate the achievements and shortcomings, analyzing the causes behind them; and provide guidance and suggestions for further action. In closing, it should set realistic deadlines for the elimination of shortcomings.

The head of the examined organization is responsible for implementing steps necessary for the elimination of mistakes or, if needed, for preparing a plan of activities. If law-breaking, severe oversight or irregularities are detected, the head of the organization performing the inspection is required to take the necessary steps; if need be, to initiate disciplinary, reparation or criminal action.

The council organs performing the inspections are required to submit yearly reports containing the detected and usable experiences, classifying them according to the following criteria:

—what kind of typical, recurring or serious shortcomings have been detected in the activities of the organs examined, what are the causes behind these, and how effective were the measures taken to end these?

—what were the good initiatives and methods revealed?

—and finally, in which cases were the culpable parties called to account?

Similarly, in defining the tasks and proposed activities, it would be desirable to classify them according to the following criteria:

—the tasks of the examined local specialized supervisory organ;

—the proposals addressed to local administrative bodies and representatives;  
—the proposals addressed to the county executive committee or, less frequently, to the county council;

—the proposals addressed to the responsible non-council organs, (such as in cases involving commercial distribution of goods, or transportation problems).

Naturally, the situation and its modifications should be examined and analyzed primarily from the point of view of the population. It should reveal how great a role the councils played in achieving the present standards.

It appears that the demands are not strict enough, and thus even the mediocre achievements are frequently over-rated. Even the thoroughness of the inspections is not always acceptable, which in itself provides opportunities for the survival of shortcomings and mistakes. Meaningful changes frequently fail to materialize or are delayed, some of which can be attributed to the weakness of internal control.

As for the future, implementing the following goals is certain to be emphasized:

--the mutually reinforcing utilization of on-site inspections, calling individuals to account and constant flow of information;

--a reduction of overlaps and parallels between the various inspections, and a simultaneous substantive evaluation of the activity, combined with the development of future-oriented proposals;

--the level of demands should be raised, and there should be an improvement in state, civic and work-place discipline;

--supervision should react quicker, whether we are talking about the elimination of shortcomings or the dissemination of time-proven good methods;

--and finally, the practice of retroactive control should be made stricter.

The specialized aspects of local supervision are handled by the specialized supervisory organs of the county council, through the executive committee of the local councils, and they independently exercise all rights connected with this activity. Accordingly, they are also charged with using the applicable supervisory means based on, and in accordance with, information yielded by the above inspections. Thus, whether they are faced by problems in generally applicable working methods, the creation or interpretation of laws, they can more frequently use supervisory rights, such as suitably applying written supervisory means, convening professional conferences, or (under certain circumstances) issuing orders or initiating supervisory procedure; as a last resort, they are even allowed to propose modifications of laws. In reality, however, we frequently see cases of supervisory organs detecting illegal practices but failing to take the required steps or initiate any action.

Therefore, no matter how smoothly the inspections proceed, they are no substitute for continuous internal control, the development and operation of which is the responsibility of the leadership. When it comes to control over the budgetary management of smaller communities, the city councils could participate, but--inasmuch as possible--the latter should not initiate independent inspections. This way we could avoid the creation of relationships that remind people of subservience and domination.

Calling for reports is one of the fundamental leadership tool, thus the supervisory organ is free to decide where or when it resorts to it. Requiring a comprehensive report is an act that is desirable only in truly justified cases and under suitable conditions, such as in cities and larger communities.

However, better results may be achieved by going before the county executive committee to discuss issues such as the community development activities of the town councils, the tasks involved in cooperative undertakings, the state of the apparatus, their working conditions and opportunities to improve them, etc.

When it comes to asking the executive committees of towns and smaller communities to file reports, the county authorities use varying methods, which is correct, because there are significant differences between the various counties. There is even a great difference in the number of local councils operating in the individual counties. For example, while there are 47 councils operating in Hajdu-Bihar county, there are 160 in Borsod-Abauj Zemplen, and 70 in Zala counties. Accordingly, there are differences as to the nature of tasks to be met, the preparedness of local councils, etc.

The generally applied methods, although differing from county to county, are as follows:

- a) the executive committee of each council reports independently to the executive committee of the county council;
- b) the activities of councils belonging to the same town-environs is evaluated simultaneously;
- c) the executive committee at the seat of the town-environs and those operating within the environs are evaluated simultaneously by the county executive committee;
- d) the executive committee of the council operating at the seat of the town-environs reports to its counterpart at the county level, and simultaneously evaluates the summarized lessons learned from supervisory inspections held at the local councils within its environs;
- e) in the larger counties, the experiences of the inspections are discussed at the time of complex evaluation, during the meeting of executive committees from the local councils. Naturally, these methods may also be applied in an alternating and ancillary manner, or may even be augmented by other methods. For example, in the cases of smaller communities it would be desirable to experiment with methods in which the executive committee of the county council abstains from demanding direct reports from council organs under its jurisdiction, asking instead for short, concise information, including—if necessary—proposals reflecting the views of the local body.

In this manner, informing the county council would be simplified; after all, even without a specific report, it would be possible concretely to define the tasks coming under its jurisdiction. This method could be particularly helpful in evaluating and supervising the activities of executive committees operating in regions of small villages and small communities.

In closing, our suggestion is that local conditions should be evaluated by local councils, based on inspections performed at the county level.

## Supervision Over Legality

The modernization of central leadership made it necessary to regulate supervision over legality in accordance with the modified conditions. County executive committees retain responsibility for supervising the legality of actions by local councils, but the secretaries of executive committees from cities and towns with city privileges, as well as specialized supervisory organs, are also given a voice in this process. The degree to which the latter participate in the process is to be determined by the county executive committees.

In defining the regulations, the theoretical starting point was the degree of participation could not be broader, only narrower, than the scope contained in legal authorization. Accordingly, the county executive committees were authorized to request the city council organs to assist them in supervising the legality of local councils' activities; moreover, they could take on part or whole of these responsibilities themselves.

In general, county regulations demanded the comprehensive participation of cities. A decisive majority of these regulations determined the order of supervision over legality by assigning responsibility for continuously supervising smaller communities to organs of city councils, as part of their supervisory tasks. County-level organs supervised only the legality of actions taken by cities or larger communities placed under their direct supervision, (which was their responsibility prescribed by law.) We must add, however, that several counties raised supervision over the decree-making activities of every council to a regional level. In Fejér county, as of 1 April, 1986, the county executive committee exercised direct supervision over the legality of actions taken by all local councils, without involving organs of city councils.

This latter solution, by the way, has numerous advantages. Since its professional preparation is better, the county apparatus is able to perform more demanding, higher-quality work; thus, by removing "interference" from the cities, supervisory activities can become quicker and more effective. The county's independent supervision over legality also precludes such, presently frequent, practices in the course of which the cooperating city organs—using "legality" as a pretext—interfere with aspects of community work that are beyond the jurisdiction of supervision. On the other hand, supervising the legality of community activities provides the county organs with valuable information, which they can profitably utilize.

Discontinuing the participation of the cities contributes to making the relationship between counties and communities more direct. As for the counties supervising the legality of the communities' activities, in time this will contribute to the realization of a bi-level public administration system.

Without going into a detailed analysis of regulatory activities by the counties, it is worthwhile briefly to discuss the precise definition of functions performed by the city or community organs that perform the actual supervision. After all, instructions contained in the county executive committees' memoranda must always be unmistakable and clear, because the

concrete and unequivocal defining of tasks could decisively influence the performance of supervisory functions and the responsibility of organs involved.

It is the county council's executive committee that is responsible for supervising the legality of actions performed by all council organs in the county. However, if organs of the city councils participating in this supervision were given specific tasks (such as that of checking or introducing measures,) they bear full responsibility for the execution of those tasks, and the county may call them to account for the quality performance of these functions.

For most city councils, participating in supervising the legality of actions taken by the community councils is perceived as new task, calling for serious preparation. Such participation contains a broad range of varying functions: It embraces constant watching, from the point of view of legality, over activities taken by the council bodies of smaller communities, the filtering out of proposed measures that are contrary to laws, as well as initiating county-level actions against illegal measures. All of this makes it necessary for the county executive committees to define the content of participation by city organs even more precisely, and at the same time to provide all required theoretical and methodical assistance to the city organs in their work. Counties are expected to do this, since they already have considerable experience in this sphere.

The organs of city councils perform their responsibilities in ensuring legality, if their supervision embraces the entire range of activities performed by the community councils and their executive committees, that is, if they continuously check the legality of both the decisions already made and of the manner in which the councils' bodies operate. Moreover, supervision over legality also requires that, in addition to action, its counterpart, "non-action," must also be monitored. In other words, it must be ensured that the operations of council-related bodies is in accord with legal prescriptions: e.g., did these bodies meet as often as required, and did they take the necessary steps in order to enforce the laws?

The secretary of the city council's executive committee plays a key role in participating in supervision. In accordance with the regulations and the guidelines issued by the county executive committee, he must make sure that the "internal" daily tasks of the city's specialized management organs be suitably coordinated. The committee's secretary must continuously direct and control the activities of the apparatus. If he learns of any illegalities in the activities of the community organs, it is his duty to communicate this, or to take the required steps.

In order to further improve legality, in the future the secretaries must increasingly demand that in the course of supervisory inspections each specialized management organ use its own guidelines to examine actions taken by community councils and executive committees for their legality. As for the internal inspections of legality, conducted under the leadership of the committee secretaries, it is desirable to include the activities of the specialized management organs inasmuch as they cover the issue of legality.

The city council's specialized management organs must also play a substantive role in supervising legality. Since their role is of a participatory nature, within its own sphere of interest each department must monitor and control the legal activities of community bodies and, if needed, initiate action by the secretary of the executive committee. After all, the provision of the law concerning the councils not only gives them the right, but also assigns a duty when it says: "Upon detecting any unlawful action taken by the community council or by the executive committee, they shall immediately report this to the secretary of the city executive committee, who will initiate the necessary steps."

The role of the secretariats is especially important when it comes to the tasks of supervision. They must pay great attention to the control of issues within their own jurisdiction, which in fact include all all issues which other organs are not required to, or even could not, cover (such as the operation of the various bodies.) Nor should we allow, however, the proliferation of the frequent view according to which the secretariats alone are responsible for all tasks connected with supervision, because this would relegate the responsibility of other specialized management organs to a secondary position.

The participation of the city organs should aim equally to anticipate unlawful actions and to prevent the execution of decrees that are unlawful. They must concentrate primarily on preventing unlawful actions from taking place, but they must also avoid making excessive demands in the name of legality. We may cite, for instance, requiring community bodies to put forth their presentations in writing. In cases of council meetings in small rural communities, the general requirement is to attach only the proposals and not the presentations to the invitations. When the executive council meets, it is not required to submit either the proposal or the presentation in writing, unless this is prescribed by organizational or operative rules of the council or some other law.

Thus, practice calls only for relatively slow progress, and there are still plenty of times when petty interferences take place. In more than one place, this work is overdone in its proportions, and there are instances when methods used by the former district administrations prevail. We are thinking, for example, of preliminary or detailed critiquing of the proposal plans, of discussing them, in a few cases, to a degree beyond what is required from the supervisors of legality, of calling the manager in for an interview, or of formulating the plans together, etc. In planning council-issued regulations, the demand for jointly formulating the text arises, even though this demeans the prestige of the council; after all, the members do not even get a chance to see the objectionable parts. What is more, there are counties where the collaborating secretaries of urban executive committees are authorized to issue instructions regulating the councils of smaller communities in this sphere of activities. . . .

It is very important for all planned decisions to be immediately examined as they arrive to the city councils. This task should be performed by each specialized management organs in accordance with their own area of

responsibility, but it is desirable that the secretariat checks every proposed decision. If the legality of a few proposals is doubtful, they should be synchronized with the responsible specialized management organ. If laws are infringed upon, this should be communicated to the secretary of the executive committee, who will forward these observations to the president of the community council.

There is not much time to review the proposals before the councils meet in session. Thus, the checking of proposed decisions must be arranged to take place before the sessions. At the same time, the present practice could also be followed, according to which a representative of the city council (for example, the head of the specialized management organ) attends the meeting of the community council and there keeps an eye on developments.

There has been considerable development in the substance of representation at the meetings of the various bodies. There are places, however, where the old practice of over-representation survives. For example, in some environs we have encountered 80-90 percent participation, which is unreasonably high.

Since the community councils are not required to send abstracts of their minutes to the urban specialized management organs, control is most frequently implemented on the basis of the minutes. As for the review, there has been two methods used. In larger environs the minutes are generally reviewed by the secretariat, checking the legality of each decision, as well as the legality of the practice followed by the body in the question. If the legality of the decision is questionable, the secretariat will immediately consult with the relevant specialized management organ and, depending on the outcome, will notify the secretary of the executive committee. In smaller environs, it is more frequent to have the minutes "circulated." In these cases, the specialized management organs are expected to complete their review quickly. Naturally, checking the legality of operations is still the responsibility of the secretariat.

When unlawful practices are detected, the secretary of the city executive committee must immediately forward the objectionable decree--along with his opinion--to his counterpart at the county level. At the same time, he must send a copy of his letter to the president of the local council. As for taking substantive measures, only the secretary of the county executive committee is entitled to initiate them.

The secretary of the county executive committee may suspend execution of the objectionable decision or decree for a period of not more than 60 days. In a case like this, he is to call upon the organ that made the decision to cease such unlawful action within its own jurisdiction. This call will be considered disregarded, if the community council or the executive committee fails to address the issue, or to address it in a suitable manner, at their next meeting. This is the time when the secretary of the county executive committee can initiate steps before the county executive committee to nullify the unlawful decision.

In fact, the measures taken by the secretary of the executive committee are usually sufficient to eliminate unlawful practices. However, there may be

cases when a community council disagrees with the decision made by the county executive committee, claiming that its decision is not unlawful. In cases of this type, the community council can take its case against the county executive committee to the Council of Ministers or to the president of the Office of Councils.

Together with the comprehensive, central review and simplification of the information and record-keeping system of the councils, it would be justified to examine the reporting and record-keeping procedures prescribed for local and county use, and shortly to take steps toward eliminating useless or marginally useful information services.

When it comes to the system of furnishing records, the county and local-level evaluations deserve considerable attention. According to them, the practice established in the areas of enforcing local regulations, taking care of children without parents, expropriation of property and assigning dwelling units is basically acceptable, and the fulfillment of tasks causes no special problems. At the same time, in other areas—such as in those managed by the Ministry of Construction and Urban Development (EVM) or the National Water Bureau (OVH)—the deadlines are frequently impossible to meet, the requested data details differ from the larger sums, and as a result, it is frequently necessary to repeat the surveys, even though the required data exist at the county level. The complexity and volume of providing data in connection with budgetary management also causes problems. The number of reports is generally very high in the areas of health, labor and fiscal affairs, but data is also requested in fields in which there is no established reporting obligation.

At times the cities are also required to act as "mailmen." They are frequently given short, barely manageable deadlines or "summarize" reports which would be best evaluated at the county level. For this reason, the best solution would entail simplification, better distribution of work and assigning most of the data-reporting tasks directly to the counties. There is also a considerable amount of work to be done in improving the cooperation and information-exchange among the specialized management organs at the county level.

The substance of participation by the cities is still not in accord with the requirements or the existing capacities. There can be no central instructions issued to establish an optimum distribution of work; this can be defined only at the county level, or even by the individual environs. In the so-called larger counties, there is a need for increased cooperation, but even in those cases care must be taken to maintain proportions and consistent regulations, at least for the period of one cycle. Where there are fewer local councils, the demand for participation may be further reduced, or even eliminated.

The truly great opportunity afforded by the system of city-environs is in developing cooperation in the area of economics and supply; as of now, however, there have been only minor and rudimentary results achieved in this respect. There are much fewer joint enterprises and endeavors than are necessary or realizable! Desirable examples are infrequent, and thus they could not initiate a comprehensive practice.

Until now, the coordinating committees of the city-environs mostly took on the tasks of preparing recommendations and opinions. They rarely act in substantive coordinating functions; thus, it is justified to urge them to deal with issues such as exploiting the possibilities for cooperation between various councils, and utilizing these possibilities in the spheres of development and maintenance.

Of course, the documents formulated at the the XIIIth party congress also contain other tasks as well. For example, they urge the broadest segment of the population to participate in managing public affairs, and encourage the councils to call even more energetically for the participation of non-council organs in the economic and other spheres. As for the councils' management practices, it is encouraged that a better utilization of reserves, the coordinated development of smaller regions, the acceleration of close economic cooperation and other council-related developmental and maintenance tasks be given increased emphasis.

Efforts should be made to increase the emphasis on the representative and interest-conveying role of the county councils, while also increasing cooperation among the counties. County councils should consciously strive to eliminate unjustified differences in the supplying of various locations, and to strengthen the population-retention capacity of viable small settlements and villages. As for the councils of consolidated communities, they should take care of the proportional development of associated settlements, and of organizing their basic supply and satisfying their fundamental needs. In this respect, much can be gained from the active participation of community leaders.

According to all indications, greater efforts should be made to strengthen civic and citizenship discipline, and to take more consistent measures in opposing negative phenomena. We must have simpler regulations, but at the same time more effective and stricter control and more decisive initiative in order to enforce regulations. In order to further improve the work of the councils, we must gradually create the conditions for the quality, civilized treatment of the clients (these include such areas as staffing developments, the providing of equipment and technical conditions, computerization of suitable tasks, the decisive strengthening of work-discipline, the elimination of bureaucratic spirit, the increase of institutional and social control, etc.) In addition, it would be desirable to fill more leadership and management positions through competitive application.

In order to further reduce fluctuation, we need a more differentiated system of material remuneration, and one that is better able to reflect performance. In cases of above-average performance, we can utilize all of the varieties of recognition (the awarding of titles such as "Councillor," extra wage-increase, extra bonuses, internal promotion, etc.)

The documents of the XIIIth party congress did not only indicate the main trends of progress and its most important objectives, but also the general tasks of implementation. It is very important, therefore, that the discussion at the congress be carefully studied by everyone, and only after doing so should they define local tasks.

## In The Region Of Attraction

The social and economic progress of the four decades since our liberation has radically altered our settlement system. One of the basic characteristics of this progress is the growth in the number of our cities: In 1950 we had 54 cities, but today the number of cities is 125. Before the system of councils was introduced, only 34.5 percent of the country's populace lived in cities and 34.5 percent in villages. By contrast, today about 60 percent of the country's residents live in cities, and only about 40 percent in smaller communities.

As a result of the process of urbanization, 71 new cities were born. Our network of cities developed in a proportionate manner, and in fact here are no longer any regions without cities. The growth in the number of cities also means that there is a city reachable from any community. In this sense, cities came closer to the villages, and they can offer more work opportunities and better services to the populace of their regions.

The former conflict between cities and villages was, therefore, replaced by permanent contacts and a sense of relying on each other. After all, our policy of urban development have not been and will not be the exclusive interest of the cities, but will directly influence life in the villages as well. And since the city is the more advanced form of settlement, its better-developed system of institutions also serves to improve the life of those living nearby. In other words, the city strives to create cultural and health services, as well as other accommodations, not only for its own residents, but also for the inhabitants of its environs. Our old and newer cities share this as one of their most important tasks and responsibilities.

This is why many people say that becoming a city entails at least as many obligations as privileges. At the same time, of course, the city is also interested in having its environs develop. This is one reason why our regional development policies emphasize--as one of the main tasks of the future--the planned, synchronized development of smaller regions, the bringing up of the less developed regions, and the strengthening of residential retention in the smaller communities. Thus, cities and smaller settlements rely on and cooperate with each other in a perfectly natural manner.

The new system of administering our society and our state (introduced three years ago) also serves the causes of local autonomy, independent action and collaboration. The new economic regulations applicable to local councils further increased their economic autonomy: after all, today local bodies dispose of more than 60 percent of all council monies. This circumstance, on the one hand, brings on an added sense of responsibility, and on the other calls for sufficient initiative and the more effective exploitation of local resources. In this respect, the collaboration of cities and smaller communities is most important in connection with tasks which can be more economically, effectively and practically achieved in a joint manner.

We can observe that there are new types of city-village contacts being created. Their basic principles are: equal consideration, collaboration on an

equal footing, and cooperation based on mutual advantages. Of course, when it comes to this type of contacts, the responsibility of the cities is greater; after all, for quite a while to come, they ("the stronger siblings") have to assist and support the smaller settlements. This is a duty derived from the substantive attractive function of the cities! However, regional contacts can be truly effective only if through them not only the councils but also other non-council organs realize their shared interests and find each other.

Fortunately, the recognition is gaining acceptance that, in addition to their administrative duties, the cities have a variety of roles in maintaining regional contacts as well. Some of these we find worthwhile to list here:

It is an inherent trait of the cities that—due to their centripetal regional functions—they perform certain supply and service tasks throughout their environs.

In connection with their centripetal regional functions, cities are the planners and organizers of regional collaboration, both as regards to local councils and non-council economic organs.

Cities accomplish their concrete tasks in cooperation with the communities of their narrower environs, but they can also contribute to the development of cooperation among the other communities' councils as well.

Finally, we emphasize that most results could be attributed to collaboration among leadership organs, or to associative endeavors.

Provisions of the Seventh Five Year Plan have been synchronized in every region—by and large under the organizational supervision of the counties—and the process has generally taken place during the meetings of the environs' councils. This was arranged in this manner primarily so that local council-presidents can be mutually informed of the various concepts. There was special emphasis placed on tasks that can be solved through joint action, such as continuing the development of the water-supply network; increasing the system of gas pipelines; constructing more connecting roads; improving the telephone network, and accomplishing tasks of environmental protection.

Cities have a growing role in coordinating regional development projects. Their functions are especially important in regard to those non-council organs operating in the cities, whose roles are greatest in servicing the cities' environs, (outlets of the General Consumer and Marketing Cooperatives [AFESZ], service utilities, transportation firms, or other economic units that employ a sizeable number of people, etc.)

(1) Cities are striving to establish regular collaborative relations with the local councils, as well as with economic organs operating within the environs. We can illustrate this with several examples:

—In Marcali, the special computer-classroom of the industrial and academic high school was enlarged and modernized with the assistance of the environs' economic organs (the state farm, the Marketing and Stockpiling Enterprise for Forestry and Lumber Industry [ERDERT], etc.);

—An important area of collaboration is the building of connecting roads. (Such roads around Somogysamson, Marcali and Horvatkut have also been completed with the financial support of agricultural enterprises.)

—An association was formed in Kalocsa for the purpose of having a swimming pool built; and economic units from the city and its environs have already pledged more than 10 million forints for the project. The thermal bath facility at Kiskurmajsa was also built in this manner.

—In Kiskoros, economic units contributed 18 million forints to the construction of a telephone switchboard; the environs around Szigetvar provided 30 million forints for the development of telephone network.

—In Szentes it was decided that a new postal center will be built, and the resources for this project are created by county and city resources, community contribution, the issuing of residential bonds, loans from enterprises and cooperatives, as well as transfer of funds.

—In Bacsalmás a main gas pipe-line is built with joint resources.

—In Szigetvar the enterprises of the city and its environs contribute 15.8 million forints to the creation of an educational and cultural center, and they also promise to complete 4.5 million forints' worth of work.

—Projects of environmental protection are especially demanding of collaboration. Thus, around the community of Boglarlelle they are planning to create a waste depository, and a similar project is undertaken around Szecsemj.

(2) An important element of regional contacts is that the various kinds of city council-related enterprises (plants of urban development, maintenance and fiscal management, as well as facilities of the Economic-Technical Supply Service Organization [GAMESZ]) have expanded their activities to cover the neighboring communities:

—They offer their services to the communities (technical supervision, minor planning work, etc.);

—They synchronize their annual plans, while also completing community assignments (renovations, emergency disposal of livestock.);

—In numerous locations the institutionalized removal of trash is accomplished by the city maintenance plant. For example, the plant at Retsag takes care of street-cleaning, park maintenance and trash removal for five of the environs' councils, and even undertakes minor construction projects. The plant at Batonyterenye, in addition to trash-removal, also takes care of the maintenance of state-owned apartment buildings in two communities. In Kistelek the community's street-cleaning enterprise set up a waste depository; and the neighboring councils contributed 2.1 million forints for the purposes of construction and equipment purchase.

(3) City council-related facilities also expand their activities to cover nearby communities. Cultural centers provide professional and methodical guidance to their counterparts in the smaller settlements, but they can also perform organizational tasks (publishing art reviews, arranging the material of a regional museum, exchanging programs, nurturing national-regional heritage, obtaining and exchanging books, etc.) The city hospital or clinic takes charge of organizing emergency medical care, substitutions, procuring instruments and other consumable supplies. The office that organizes social events greatly helps the smaller communities in their similar activities; moreover, it provides various kinds of assistance (musical material, the lending of equipment, etc.) Opportunities in the areas of physical education and sports are still largely unexplored. At the same time, there are positive examples when it comes to organizing competitions, and the support of student sport clubs is being emphasized. Simultaneously, the development of city facilities is not ignored by the councils either. For example, in Mako they decided to expand the therapeutic facilities at the municipal baths, and the neighboring communities contributed 3 of the 15 million forints required for the project. In Szentesz the region's communities assisted in purchasing a kidney-operating machine for the city's hospital.

(4) The cities also have a direct interest in improving the basic supplies of the neighboring smaller communities, because by doing so they lessen the pressure on their own facilities. Larger cities frequently provide financial assistance to smaller communities with which the latter can develop real estate suitable for construction. For example, the city of Salgotarjan gave 2 million forints to the council of Karancslapujtő for such purposes; in return, the city was given the right to consign 50 pieces of real estate for purchase. Kaposvar supported real estate development in Kaposmero with 300,000 forints, and Szekesfehervar provided money (100,000 forints per plot) for the same purpose to the community of Szabadbattyán. However, our experience also shows that it is not enough to support the development of real estate lots alone; after all, the development of child-care facilities and the broadening of consumer supply also require our aid. For this reason, the city of Kaposvar gave 300,000 forints each to the AFESZ-store in Kaposmero and Juta, as well as the school in Szenna. Around the city of Szeged recently there has been increased interest in the development of arable lands; thus, the smaller communities organized week-end actions to establish small garden-plots. The result: within two years there have been more than 2,000 garden-plots turned over to people—mostly residents of Szeged—for extended use.

5) Regrettably, there are still not many examples of communities collaborating on projects, but there are a few positive developments in this area, too. The municipal plant in Magyarnandor, which performs the tasks of waste-removal and other community services, is maintained with the cooperation of six community councils. The community of Cserhatsurany established a nursing clinic for social purposes in cooperation with the council of Szanda. Similar care-providing centers are jointly operated by the Nograd and Notincs, Alsotold and Ecseg, as well as Bujak and Szirak. A growing number of village councils establish and maintain jointly operated waste dump-sites. Nine community councils in the region of Kiskunhalas, centered around Kunfeherto, set up a joint road-maintenance organization. The community of Csengod built a family-care center in cooperation with neighboring communities. Bacsbokod,

Csavoly and Felsoszentivan established a fund for the construction and purchase of dwelling units. Together with two other community councils belonging to another county, Mazaszszvar and Magyaregregy jointly operate a waste disposal site.

(6) At the same time, we can also find examples of collaboration involving several community councils and management units. Utilizing the joint efforts of Bohonye, Nagybajom, Kutas, Csokoly and Somogysard and the area's agricultural enterprises, a regional sewage treatment plant was constructed, which is noteworthy, because the project expanded beyond the borders of a city-environs. The interested management units supported the development of a gas pipe-line network in the region of Hetes, Mezocsokanya, Somogysard and Nagybajom. In order to provide "meals-on-wheels" to the needy, the councils in Savoly and Somogysamson operate a jointly purchased automobile.

(7) Regional funds were developed by only some of the environs. (In Bekes and Szabolcs-Szatmar counties there are no regional funds in existence!) Still, there are varying experiences in this sphere of activities as well. During the previous plan-period the environs around the city of Barcs contained 3.5 million forints. This was temporarily "used" as unassigned resource, but they also used it for the purposes of joint endeavors. Among other things, to improve the supply in the region's villages, they purchased a bus to be operated as mobile grocery outlet. In many locations, the fund is treated as a source of loans, either at no interest, or at the rate of 5-8 percent. In Baranya county every city-environs is forming a fund, with one-third of the money coming from the community councils, one-third from the cities and one-third from the county. The community councils are awarded the right to use this money on the basis of competition.

The environs committees were formed in 1984. The first two years were characterized by establishing contacts and gaining information, but the committees strived to "bring local councils closer to each other." They developed their agenda, they prepared yearly plans, and generally schedule two to four meetings annually. Still, the work of the committees is uneven, and in many locations their significance has not been recognized. The chief experiences of their operation can be summarized in the following:

—The committees are generally useful forums for mutual information, and this proved to be particularly important when the Seventh Five Year Plan was prepared.

--The committees jointly define those tasks that are more amenable to collaborative solution, and they are increasingly becoming the organizers of regional collaboration, as well as the rapprochement between council-related organs and the managerial units with no connections to the councils.

—They can exercise greater influence on the organs that perform supply and service functions in the regions (AFESZ-outlets, regional water-works, transportation services, electrical utilities, etc.) However, the committees still need much help in performing their functions.

--The committees can get together for the purpose of discussing their communities' worries, they can perform common stands, what is more, they can even initiate county-wide actions. In addition, the lively exchanges of experience provide good opportunities for organizing the execution of council-related tasks as they crop up. After all, even though regional collaboration has its traditions in the older settlements, as a process it is still in its infancy.

12588  
CSO: 2500/331

## TRANSMISSION OF SOVIET TV INTO COUNTRY DESCRIBED

Warsaw PRASA POLSKA in Polish No 5, May 87 p 46

[Article by Franciszek Skwierawski: "Shortening the Distance; Satellite Thresholds"]

[Text] The retransmission of the Soviet TV program in Poland is of an experimental nature. It should determine the degree of public interest in such a program initiative, and thus the degree to which foreign TV will be viewed by the Polish TV viewer despite the language barrier. The transmission of Soviet programs from Moscow to Warsaw is via telecommunications satellite, which, at the threshold of the era of satellite TV, will make it possible for us to prepare for new tasks. The availability of Soviet programs to Polish viewers occurs during an especially interesting period when many extensive changes are occurring in the Soviet Union.

The Soviet TV program is accessible only to viewers living within a 20-km radius of the Palace of Culture and Science, where a low-power transmitter broadcasting the Soviet program on 51 channels, and thus in TV band V, is located.

This new, modest broadcasting initiative of the Ministry of Communications raises and draws attention to many problems. A low-power transmitter is used to retransmit the Soviet program because there is no room at the Palace of Culture and Science for a larger one. In addition, it is not possible to install a proper antenna system there. When, in 1956, a TV transmission station was located in the tallest building in Warsaw and an antenna was placed on the very top of the spire (later, the antenna was relocated below the spire), it was said that it was a temporary location, expected to change in several years. It was projected that an efficient TV tower would be constructed shortly in the 10th Anniversary Stadium area. Thirty years have elapsed and the TV tower, like several other planned TV investments, was not realized. The current program initiative once more demonstrates the urgent need to construct such a structure in Warsaw (such a tower is currently being built in Prague).

In discussing the implementation of the new TV investment, Prof Dr Wladyslaw Majewski, the minister of communications, also stated that similar retransmission transmitters will not be built in other regions of Poland

because such capacity is lacking. The realization of such an initiative would mean that the program-two transmission network, which still does not encompass all of Poland (only 78 percent), could not be expanded.

The initiation of a third program channel in Warsaw disclosed many serious problems on the receiving side. It turns out that most TV receivers in operation are not able to receive programs broadcast in the higher frequency bands (IV and V). Such reception is possible only with color TV receivers and black- and-white TV receivers equipped with a so-called integrated head.

The introduction of the retransmitted Soviet program surprised our suppliers, who did not anticipate that a TV owner interested in receiving this program would have to install an additional antenna on his roof in addition to such needed accessories as cables, a switch and an amplifier. None of this equipment was available in the stores because the POLKAT Industrial-Service Plant in Wojcieszowic, the antenna production monopoly, received only one-half of its aluminum allotment this year.

I said that the retransmission of the Soviet program in Warsaw is of an experimental nature that should provide answers to many questions. All of the results of this experiment, however, may only be theoretical. If it turns out that residents of Katowice, Krakow or Gdansk will also want to receive this program in their areas, then--in the institutional realization of this--it will not be possible over the next several years because of the limited capabilities of ZARAT, the Polish monopoly for producing TV transmitters, which is in no condition to deliver even one more transmitter beyond the planned amount.

Thus, if anyone outside the Warsaw area wants to view this program, he will have to obtain his own satellite antenna and a properly adapted TV receiver. But first he must obtain a permit from the State Radio Inspectorate to make such an installation and justify his need to use such a receiver. The State Radio Inspectorate may issue a permit for a specified or unspecified time based on the "positive opinion of the authorized voivodship organ of the Ministry of Internal Affairs that is responsible for public order and state security." It should be added that the proper equipment cost about \$1,300-1,500 and is available only in the West. Such barriers must be overcome if one wants to view a foreign TV program in Poland.

These are the problems that accompany the first modest attempt to provide the Polish viewer with a foreign program broadcast via satellite.

11899  
CSO: 2600/663

**PAP REPORTER ON SWEDISH SMUGGLING**

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 87 p 8

[Article: "Swedish Truck Driver Has Problems"]

[Text] Stockholm. PAP correspondent Tomasz Walat telegraphs: Lennart Jaern, a truck driver who had paid a fine and been released from a Polish prison after having been caught last November in Swinoujscie trying to smuggle material and equipment destined for the underground opposition in Poland, ran into legal problems in his own country.

Activists from an emigre Solidarity movement tried to make a hero out of him by revealing at a press conference in Lund that he had previously made 15 trips to Poland with similar cargo, a statement that Jaern had denied in court in Swinoujscie, pretending to be an innocent victim.

The prosecutor in Ystad nonetheless began an investigation in connection with the violation which Jaern had committed against Swedish law, driving a truck from Malmo to Ystad without his chauffeur's license, which had been suspended by the local authorities for abusing alcohol. The Swedish customs authorities also undertook an investigation in connection with findings that the cargo sent to Poland also included equipment under Swedish export prohibition. If these accusations are confirmed, Jaern will be called to account, as will those who sent him on his mission to Poland.

Emigre Solidarity activists from Lund and Brussels who arrived to welcome Jaern are also having problems explaining the source of the materials sent to Poland. Rumors are circulating that they were stolen, an allegation that the people behind the shipments fiercely deny.

10790

CSO:2600/649

## JUSTICE MINISTRY OFFICIAL ON HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 16, 18 Apr 87 p 3

[Interview with Jan Brol, Deputy Justice Minister, by Stanislaw Podemski; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] You said that the 2-day United Nations Human Rights Committee review of the Polish government report on the civil and political rights of our citizens and Polish society that took place at the end of March had been reported by the daily press. You also said that the Human Rights Committee accepted approvingly information about the "far-reaching changes expanding civil rights as well as the system protecting these rights in our country." Three questions come to the fore here: 1) How did the Human Rights Committee obtain the Polish report? 2) What authority do the members of the Human Rights Committee represent? and 3) How impartial and discerning is the work of this body?

[Answer] The fact that the Human Rights Committee obtained the Polish report is nothing unusual. Representatives of those states that ratified the so-called 1966 international pact on civil and political rights (Poland ratified it in 1977) submit such a report at one time or another to the Human Rights Committee. The Pact itself requires it. The Polish government has presented a report in the past (1979) and will do so in the future, perhaps 5 years hence. (Other socialist countries--Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Hungary, Romania and the USSR have also submitted reports to the Human Rights Committee.) We waited 2 years for this report meeting. We had to take an existing 1985 document and supplement it with a report for the 1985-1986 period which, as is known, were very important years in the country's history.

You asked about the Committee's authority and level of knowledge. The Human Rights Committee consists of 18 lawyers representing many different geographic areas, cultures, legal traditions and professions. But they are always very experienced and knowledgeable people, people with positions and moral prestige in their countries. Here, sir, you will find a supreme court judge, a chairman of an administrative tribunal and a lecturer on international law. Among other nations, France, Cyprus, Great Britain, Venezuela, Sweden and Sri Lanka have representatives on the current 4-year term Committee. The current term is

represented by the following countries: Cyprus, Egypt, Ecuador, France, the Netherlands, Japan, Jugoslavia, Kenya, Mauritius, Nicaragua, Poland, Sweden, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Great Britain, Italy, Venezuela and the USSR.

[Question] In Venezuela, Cyprus and Sri Lanka, what do they know about human rights in Poland?

[Answer] More than you think they do. The members of the Human Rights Committee had in their possession, above all, three of our detailed reports (a total of 150 pages) as well as their own information obtained from international organizations (for example, International Amnesty reports, which I have evaluated critically as being biased, containing a number of groundless charges and ill-founded statements). If I tell you that the Human Rights Committee members asked the Polish delegation up to 100 questions and that our meetings lasted a total of 12 hours, then a very clear and detailed picture of the inquiries emerges: Is or is not Poland observing the Pact, its rules and procedures? In not even one instance could we be reproached for deviating from the Pact. Of course, there were discussions, differences of opinions and doubts concerning understanding specific legitimacies of instituting this and not another of its interpretations. The hope was expressed that these rights would be expanded in the future, but that is all. Please remember that the Pact is only a general principle, and its application to a country's conditions is a matter for the national legislator of the specific country, a sovereign decision of its government.

[Question] The essence of the matter probably is that the human rights encompassed in the 1966 international catalog which, it was agreed, were to be observed in Ecuador and Kenya and Yugoslavia and in the Netherlands and Mauritius and in Poland assumed different forms during the centuries old historical processes of these countries. Thus, the hierarchy of their importance and other understandings of their scope or content differ.

[Answer] Of course. This process not only influences dissimilarities of views in these matters but will also continue to influence dissimilar development in the future. For example, the countries of Africa have their own concept of human rights and even formulated it in a special political document. It is interesting that the representatives of the European countries--Italy, Great Britain and Sweden--asked us the most questions. Why? Because, on the one hand, we share a certain common historical heritage, substructure and roots in shaping human rights. On the other hand, they are alumni of a different democracy, a parliamentary, multi-party, bourgeois democracy. Thus, we have different approaches to the socialist concept of democracy and, against this background, a different approach to some of the rights stipulated in the Pact. For example, doubts were expressed regarding limitations on the freedom to voice opinion publicly. But in no way does this mean that our statutory regulations conflict with the Pact. After all, the Pact contains a public-order clause that allows for the possibility of certain deviations from this principle, as dictated by differences in the interests of social groups or in the interest of state security and public order.

This is no different than taking exceptions to other rights included in pacts. With the amendment of the passport law in 1983 we recognize and implement

extensively the right of compatriots to leave Poland, but certain limitations are necessary even here. For example, it would be difficult to agree to issue a passport to a father of three children so that he can leave the country, leaving the care of his offspring to his divorced wife and the State. It is known that a number of countries do not adhere to the so-called New York Convention, which make it impossible to enforce alimonies based on the judgement of a foreign court. All in all, however, we refuse to honor only a small percentage of passport applications (6.1 percent in 1985, 4.6 percent in 1986). This indicates a practical growth in the freedom to relocate as a right stipulated in the Pact.

[Question] No matter how we would like to avoid sensitive matters, we must discuss views concerning martial law in Poland during the 1981-1982 period.

[Answer] I do not want to avoid anything because there is no need to do so. That difficult period for our country was regretted. Satisfaction was expressed that it is a thing of the past. There were interrogations concerning the reasons for that step, but most interest was directed to an entirely different matter. As already mentioned, the Human Rights Committee makes careful preparations for its discussions with state representatives. It appoints a working group that submits questions which, in our case, were arranged in 12 thematic blocks (the so-called list of issues). For example, the titles included nondiscrimination and equality of the sexes; right to due process; freedom to relocate and rights of foreigners; freedom of assembly and association; and the rights of national minorities to participate in public affairs.

One will not find questions here about martial law, even though such detailed questions were asked as: how many lawyers practice privately? who determines their compensation? what kind of documents are required to obtain a passport? how is legal assistance organized in Poland? and how are affronts, libel and slander prosecuted? Of course, this was preceded by important and varied questions concerning imposing the death sentence for crimes other than murder (we informed the Human Rights Committee that no one was put to death in our country for such crimes during the report period), the openness of trials; the rules for using direct force by police (here we reminded the Human Rights Committee about the specific regulation of these matters in the law itself, together with the right of indemnification in cases where a functionary is at fault); the right of a suspect (detained and arrested) to defense, and so on.

The Human Rights Committee drafted a so-called general commentary on some of the Pact's provisions, including Article 4, which actually concerns extraordinary events constituting "exceptional dangers threatening a nation's existence," which allow a nation to suspend a significant portion of its obligations vis-a-vis the Pact. This commentary focuses on the exceptional and temporary nature of the state of affairs and, what is most important, protecting human rights, especially those rights that cannot be abrogated. This is linked to the dramatic, tempestuous and exceptional situations that continue to occur in the world, in which certain parts of the Pact cannot, as a rule, be applied.

Thus, in Geneva, the main interest was on present Poland, its main directions, the trends of Polish legislation and practices including: expanding the jurisdiction of the Supreme Administrative Court over more and more areas of administrative decisions; implementing Constitutional Tribune controls over legislation; expanding citizen self-government; the new law on the structure of the general courts; progress in directing public affairs and the like. The martial law period has been recognized as a chapter in history that was overcome by later development of events in Poland.

[Question] Were any questions and doubts raised concerning the lack of trade union pluralism?

[Answer] Yes, there were. But such rights are not derived directly from the Pact. We presented the government's well known position in this matter. However, themes associated with the current trade union legislation; the current organization of trade unions, their rights and independence and how they are being used; and the right to strike dominated the questions. I believe we provided exhaustive information on these matters, indicating, for example, the tasks of enterprises associated with economic reform and the operation of self-governments. It should be added that the Human Rights Committee working group, which I already mentioned, asked only two questions. First: How many trade unions were not registered and why? (There were only isolated cases.) Second: What does it mean that the authorities "institute" the demands of the trade union movement?

[Question] In your statement to PAP [Polish Press Agency] her things, that "in our presentation we showed that all stipulated requirements of the Pact already were realized in Polish legislation and practices when the Pact was being ratified, and some rights were even more extensive." That is right, but much can be criticized concerning this realization.

[Answer] For example?

[Question] I will limit myself to three examples because we already wrote about them in POLITYKA. To form an association is not very easy, and the relationship between a negative and positive decision is not one to one. Two-thirds of the decisions of governing bodies on offenses that ended with arrests remain outside judicial control. Also, equal opportunity in civil service is lacking (as required by the Pact) where management positions are reserved in practice for members of the party and other political parties.

[Answer] It is difficult to respond to such substantial statements in several sentences. However, above all one must differentiate between the conformity of legislation and practices with the Pact and postulates designed to expand guaranteed rights. After all, they are two basically different problems, and the lack of such a demarcation has, unfortunately, hampered discussions up to now.

Concerning your specific questions, the cited examples, current legislation is not contrary to the Pact. Legal limitations concerning the formation of associations are contained in the Pact's general clause, which allows such limitations when it is "necessary in the interest of state or public security,

or to protect public health or morality, or the rights and freedom of other individuals." However, over 6,000 associations, excluding other social organizations, currently operate in our country.

From what I said, one should not conclude at all that the process of expanding rights, including the ones you mentioned as well as others stipulated in the Pact, is finished and closed. No country in the world, including ours, has reached perfection in this area. Furthermore, the ongoing scientific and technological progress in such areas as medicine and technology, including computerization and electronization, is creating new problems in the area of human rights and will affect the next generation of these rights.

[Question] Is that a permanent trend?

[Answer] Its permanency in Poland is best expressed in Article 67 of the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic: "The Polish People's Republic strengthens and expands citizen rights and freedoms." But this process does not take place in a vacuum. The status of social, economic and international relations is an important factor affecting these rights and freedoms.

In conclusion and to allay your doubts: the Human Rights Committee examined Polish legislation and law not under a magnifying glass but under a microscope, and nothing escaped its attention. But the result of this examination was favorable.

11899  
CSO: 2600/664

## 'OPENNESS' AS STATED CULTURAL POLICY

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 5 May 87 p 2

[Article: "Cultural Policy: Popularization, Openness, and Socialization of Administration"]

[Text] (PAP) The activity of local cultural centers takes 75 percent of the funds of the Central Cultural Development Fund. At the same time, as the result of the continually rising costs of maintaining and repairing cultural facilities, not much of the funds remains for actual operations. Sometimes the situation arises where a choice must be made between building a library where there is none (or to renovate an old one in the state of collapse) and thereby give up funds to buy books, or to buy the books without having any place for their storage or circulation.

These problems were the subject of a meeting in Warsaw on 4 May between deputy voivodship governors and representatives of the party leadership, political parties, and the culture ministry.

Taking the floor at the meeting, Andrzej Wasilewski, PZPR Central Committee secretary, emphasized that the policy of popularizing culture is the most important arm of the government's cultural policy, because such efforts determine the general level of culture of millions of citizens. It is therefore essential to endow it with a new rank and new importance by rapidly creating programs to equip cultural facilities with modern equipment, to train and pay personnel, and to find additional sources of financing, beyond the CFRK [Central Fund for the Development of Culture].

Describing cultural policy, Minister Aleksander Krawczuk pointed out, among other things, that its characteristic feature is openness and the socialization of cultural administration. The government favors the development of all currents, directions, and forms of culture, the only barriers being the Polish reasons of state and the interests of the socialist fatherland. The current cultural policy is a policy of dialogue and understanding with all creative forces. It is accompanied by the hopes and expectations that artists will take up great contemporary problems and by their works will have an influence on the nation's moral condition.

10790  
CSO:2600/649

## COLUMNIST ON WEST'S 'ROMANTIC' VIEW OF POLISH PAST

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 19, 9 May 87 p 12

[Article by Krzysztof Teodor Toeplitz: "Polish Cuisine: Polonica"]

[Text] Several weeks ago I had the opportunity in Warsaw to talk to a certain Frenchman who had very recently come to our country, and, as often happens, when the conversation turned to the past period of 1980-1981, an expression of rather unintelligent pleasure crossed the face of the my partner in the conversation: "But it was all so picturesque and romantic," he said in an exalted tone.

Fortunately nearby there were a few Frenchmen, and some of them had lived through those months in our country. Therefore I did not have the difficult task of explaining to an upset foreigner how little romanticism has to do with the closed factories, empty shops with only vinegar to sell, and the flood of slogans, over an expression of things loosely connected with any sort of reality.

Unfortunately, the conviction that several years ago in our country we lived through a period of sublime rapture in which the new began to sprout up under our feet has not entirely vanished from Western public opinion. This can be explained in that several days before when I had again found myself in France I had the opportunity to come in contact with several emigre Poles I found noteworthy.

Most of them were upset over a rather thick book which had appeared on display in the bookshop windows bearing the title "Le chemin d'espoir," or "Path of Hope." The author whose name appears on the cover of the book is Lech Walesa, this time spelled quite correctly with the Polish barred L and hooked E, a feat which is rare for the French, because they usually do not put themselves to the trouble to spell, let alone read, Polish names correctly. The appearance of the book was the subject of a special section of a French television program called "Apostrophes," hosted by Mr Pivot, which takes up just new publications.

In France "Apostrophes" enjoys real popularity. It is one of the few cultural programs really viewed by a wide range of the public, mainly because the programs usually feature the authors of the books themselves face to face with

Mr Pivot along with both critics and supporters. An interesting presentation usually ensues from this, one with certain dramatic values, the very values which are often lacking on many of our discussion programs made solemn with many "talking heads."

This time the program's attraction was to be Pivot's recording of an interview with Walesa during Pivot's visit to Poland this past January, with commentary by Yves Montand and the secretary of one of the French central trade unions. The program host, Mr Pivot, of course promised that the interview had been taped "under conspiratory conditions," which was supposed to account for its allegedly poor technical quality and to add a taste of the sensational for those not on the inside. Actually the picture was quite good, with professional lighting, but the two people in the interview were by no means sitting in any underground hideout but in a formal room of a school or parish, and they spoke freely and not in any hurry. I am not entirely familiar with this, but from my observations it seemed to me in general that conducting interviews with Walesa had become routine for foreign correspondents in Poland and that no special measures or conspiracies were needed.

The interview itself, after all, would be difficult to classify as sensational. I never heard Walesa talking so cautiously, with some distance, or on such neutral topics as he did with Mr Pivot. He recalled his childhood. He praised his wife. Several times he repeated that he was not angry with anyone, that he cannot evaluate the government's decisions, because he does not know the components that formed the basis for their decisions or determined the nature of them. He also said that from the beginning he was an advocate of reform, which the average Frenchman could associate only with economic reforms, not with the general current of "pretensions" or the famous "Walesa" reform forced on everyone, in keeping with the principle of "whether standing up or lying down [you get paid anyway]," which the host, Mr Pivot, had patronized a few years earlier. I think that "reform" program simply would not fit into anybody's head in Poland, however normal it might be in France. For this reason, the talk about reforms was very general, leaving the impression that it might be a question here of reform in the style of Gorbachev in the USSR. At the end of the interview there was more talk about God and His intention's for Poland, which the rationalistic French accepted with some reservations.

Yves Montand, who was in the studio, and the secretary whom I referred to before but whose name I have forgotten did everything they could, therefore, to add a little spice to all this, with the secretary creating a completely fantastic picture of underground "Solidarity" that could evoke nothing but laughter from anyone coming from Poland. Like many ex-Communists, even in our country, who have suddenly been "converted," Yves Montand seems to feel the need to expiate himself in a forceful way, or, to put it more simply, he bounces off one wall and then the other always with equal emotion, pomposness, and pretentiousness. My Lord, how similar people are to one another, regardless of geography!

On the other hand, we did not learn much about the book itself. The day following the program LE MONDE published a review of it, in which it complained that the authors to whom Walesa entrusted the writing of his

memoirs had departed so far from his style and way of thinking that the whole thing did not seem very authentic and was therefore disappointing, given the fact that Walesa's name was on the cover. Once more some sort of advisers had found an outlet, this time in lyric sentimental writing, using his signature.

I am writing about this mainly because the expectation of the sensational related to Poland that "Apostrophes" was supposed to have seems to me to be appropriate not only to foreign "romantics" but also to some Polish "romantics" as well. Both are reluctant to face the obvious fact that our country's future is being played out not in theatrical gestures or political sensations but in the hard facts of economic and social reality, but the former would feel more relaxed after a good dinner, if they learned in the paper that "those Poles" dreamed up something romantically unconscious, picturesque, and senseless, while the Polish "romantics" feel good when they imagine the West to be a dangerous fierce dog with great fangs, who incessantly snarls at us, getting ready to lunge, and at each moment does something "anti-Polish."

In this pursuit of the "anti-Polish" is hidden a great national megalomania, because, with the exception of really clear moments (like state visits at the highest level, the Pope's visit to Poland, and so on) or on completely accidental occasions (like the publication of the book mentioned above), people do not speak or write much about Poland, and our affairs are hidden by another great curiosity related to the changes going on in the Soviet Union. Hence, if we are presently to become the subject of interest in serious talks and in a more serious way, it is largely in the sense of how much we are able to change our principles of government, our cultural and social politics, so as not to remain behind the transformations going on in the Soviet system. To what extent we are mature enough to see clearly our own situation, the needs and possibilities, and these latter elements are by no means minor but are being only partly utilized.

There is no way to hide the fact that except for the accents of optimism, there are plenty of voices expressing doubt. A great French industrialist who also has some experience in economic contacts with Poland told me about the distaste with which a Polish official with whom he speaking -- he was not from the top echelons -- in talking about prospects for development of the situation, explained that the income of a private producer or famous professional could be higher than his own. "But that is the way things are all over the world, and the head of a firm earns more than a minister," the industrialist explained to me, and fearful of taking in this fact, he sees one of the difficulties in our situation.

The intellectual, in turn, is worried about doctrine. He thinks that the creation of a normal market in place of an economy guided by commands and prohibitions "cannot be reconciled with Marxism," although I do not recall from any of the classics that anything was written on this subject. It is true that they wrote about the principle of social property and social planning, but not about a command economy as something that distinguished the socialist system. In the views of what is happening in Poland, especially the USSR, there is still the fear of the spirit of "Kremlinology" and hence the doctrine mainly dreamed up in America that everything that happens in our

countries is the result and realization of some sort of plan of the devil, in which words and curses must be more important than ordinary everyday realism. What is most surprising in our deeds is giving pragmatism its proper place, antidorigmatism. There is a great deal of distrust about whether this pragmatism can break through the doctrinal fossils.

It is more or less about these Polish problems that serious people are talking, on both sides, still looking for emotion and "romantic" shivers. One can ultimately entertain oneself this way.

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## TRADE UNION AGREEMENT FOR POLISH WORKERS IN GDR

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 28 Apr 87 p 7

[Article: "Agreement Between OPZZ and FDGB: The Same Responsibilities and Privileges for Trade Unionists"]

[Text] Berlin. PAP correspondent Edmund Kieszkowski writes: An agreement was signed in Berlin on Sunday between the executive committee of the OPZZ and the central administration of the Free German Trade Unions (FDGB) concerning union activity and membership of Poles temporarily employed in factories and on building sites in the GDR.

The document charges the management of the various GDR enterprises with taking their specific needs into account in the realms of social welfare, industrial health and safety conditions, vocational training, and physical education and sports, along with providing adequate funds to accomplish these ends.

According to the agreement, all Polish employees belonging to the FDGB have the same duties and privileges as their GDR union colleagues, and this also applies to social security and plant collective agreements, which include GDR employees to the same extent as Polish employees.

It is worth mentioning that there are presently more than 30,000 Polish specialists working in the various factories and on building sites in the GDR, and about 7,500 of these are employed in what are called border traffic and industrial groups. For these people, the regulation of their union membership and the obligations and privileges stemming therefrom is of considerable importance.

The document was signed by Jerzy Uzieblo, member of the Polish Council of State and deputy chair of the OPZZ, and Werner Heilemann, secretary of the central administration of the FDGB.

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**SELF-MANAGEMENT EXPERT ON NECESSITY OF WORKER PARTICIPATION**

Wroclaw Odra in Polish No 2, Feb 87 pp 8-10

[Interview with Prof Ludwik Bar by Slawoj Nowak: "You Cannot Run an Enterprise Without Employee Participation"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question]: Over half a century ago, you devoted your doctoral dissertation to regional self-government. For many years your name has been linked to employee self-government. You are a well-known specialist in the area of administrative and economic law in general, but everyone probably identifies you with the struggle for self-government. If there is a struggle, this means there is also a problem. Are some of them still unresolved?

[Answer]: Of course. In shaping new social relations we had to start with the old legal institutions. Some could be adapted to the construction of socialism, and others could not. Because entirely new problems appeared, we had to look for new legal institutions too, but this was not done everywhere. Up to the present time, for example, we have not managed to find a new way to resolve the problem of the responsibility of collegial bodies, although with the existing regulations, we cannot accept the notion that, as evil-minded people say, they are irresponsible.

[Question]: I am afraid that it is not only the evil-minded people who say that. A significant part of society probably holds the conviction that they are not responsible.

[Answer]: But they are. First of all, they have political and social responsibility, but that is not all. There are legal instruments that allow for recalling a council member or deputy. There are possibilities for bringing a member of a collegial body to answer criminal charges, if he commits a crime. The person can also be called to material responsibility, if he has caused material damage by his action or neglect.

[Question]: You speak about "collegial bodies." This term includes both the Sejm and the workers' council.

[Answer]: The Sejm, the national councils, and the workers' councils are valued differently in the public mind. Therefore the various collegial bodies are not measured by the same standard. For example, the standard of

responsibility is not applied to the Sejm or people's councils with regard to improper decisions, but if a workers' council makes an improper decision, then it bears the responsibility for the matter, and the employee self-government's reason for being is even called into question. Looking strictly from the viewpoint of legal institutions and the practice of using them, you can see that it is easiest to recall a workers' council, regardless of the size of the enterprise or the number of people it represents.

[Question]: This implies that the position of the employee council or, more broadly, the worker self-government of a state enterprise, does not correspond to the role that the self-government has to play. After all, it has been given the role of one of the three pillars of the economic reform (alongside the state enterprise's independence and self-financing system). Why has the self-government been given such a major role? Why is it so important?

[Answer]: First it follows from the fact that a person is an element in the enterprise. He gives his labor. He is interested in what he receives for his labor, the conditions under which he works. He is interested in proper relations with superiors and fellow workers. He wants to have the chance to have his say and to exert an influence over the enterprise's operation and issues, which means he wants to participate in its management. The employee's participation in its management simultaneously satisfies his higher order needs, develops his personality, and serves the development of the enterprise. Second, the workers state their views, opinions, doubts, questions, and demands. This activity depends on the political and social conditions in the enterprise and in the country, as well as on the awareness of their own strength and the extent of their organization. One form of organization which encompasses the whole work force is the employee self-government. It is the self-government itself that is a way of giving the workers of the enterprise their subjective role. Third, the workers' role in running an economic organization is one legal way for carrying out the political principle of working people's participating in government. Therefore the self-government serves the development of the individual, gives the plant community a subjective role, and turns the idea of socialized power into reality.

[Question]: In the light of this, the social function of the socialist enterprise takes on far richer content.

[Answer]: I think that the enterprise's proper implementation of the social function is inseparably tied in with socializing its management, that is, the self-management. We do not yet see everywhere that the real socialization of the enterprise, or, endowing it with the proper sense of the term "socialist enterprise," depends, among other things, on the extent to which the workers share in running it. This relationship is being understood more and more in some socialist countries. Recently we have been observing it particularly in the Soviet Union and in Hungary.

[Question]: You were present at the birth and death of the worker self-government in October [1956]. A quarter of a century later you were also part of a very active new birth of the self-government. In one of your articles, you pointed out the double anniversary, the 30th anniversary of the workers' councils and the fifth anniversary of the employee councils, writing: "We should remember these anniversaries noisily and joyfully." It is important that your words were not greeted with an adequate response.

[Answer]: Despite many barriers and difficulties, the workers' self-management has bolstered its position in many enterprises. There are more state enterprises in which the workers' self-management bodies have taken on the role of joint managers. They realize their responsibility and are aware of the rights and privileges they have. Nonetheless, we still have a long way to go to realize the deal of the self-governing enterprise. First of all, a large proportion of the plant community maintains some reserve. They remember bitter experience which is defined by the oft-repeated phrase: "They have screwed us more than once." The numerous difficulties and problems which have accompanied the self-management system from the day of its birth do not help to change these workers' attitude toward the self-management system. For example, the law on employee self-management does not receive adequate publicity.

[Question]: We can talk about the mass media's sense of responsibility or science's inadequate interest in the employee self-management system, but it would be difficult to say that the press and science are guilty. Both of these communities rather favor the self-management system.

[Answer]: One of the most important reasons that the employee self-management system has developed too slowly during the 1980's is the administration's obvious violations of the legal regulations. The massive policy which the state administrative bodies practiced contrary to the law whereby they named enterprise directors without conducting a competitive search was harmful to the worker self-government and, especially, to the employee council. The creation of state enterprise association in haste in an administrative way, whereby the activity of the employee councils was suspended, also had an adverse influence on the structuring of overall conditions. In practice all this did not help bolster the legal and social position of the employee council. The regulations still exert an adverse influence, especially those on legal regulation which have increased the enterprise director's dependence on the bounding body to the detriment of the legal and actual position of the employee council. The way the economic administration seeks intermediate structures, such as companies, guilds, and consortia, is also a very grave form of restriction on the self-management system, which has not been helped by the frequent instances in which ordinary enterprises have been transformed into public utilities.

[Question]: We are talking about external factors that hamper the development of the self-management system, but there are also internal factors.

[Answer]: Of course, although they are closely related to external influence. The administration's very reduction in the significance of the self-management causes it to be trivialized within the enterprise, but, after all, the proper working conditions must be created for the employee council. The enterprise administration must insure the council's ability to take a stand, and this means timely information properly prepared. Unfortunately, it often surprises the councils with the information, forcing decisions on it. This is a sign that the social element is being trivialized and that the basic principles of democracy are being ignored. At the same time, then, workers are discouraged from activity in the self-management system, and the view that nobody can count on the self-management is spread.

[Question]: Sometimes one has the impression that there is an attempt to antagonize the bodies of the enterprise: the director and the employee council.

[Answer]: Objectively speaking, suggestions of changes in the so-called status of the director is driving a wedge between the self-management, but, after all, they are a pair of horses hitched to the same wagon. Therefore, to antagonize the pair or to weaken either of them is harmful to top economic interests and therefore to the political and social interest. I think that one of the things at the foundation of our economic difficulties and at the base of our problems with inculcating the economic reform is the reluctance on the part of the bureaucracy and technocracy to engage the social element in the management process. If the worker self-management of the state enterprise has been set up to play the role of a joint manager, to come out with initiatives, and to decide, monitor, and share the responsibility, then the worker self-management bodies must have the possibilities to do it. No order, prohibition, agreement, or permission from a state body can replace the decisions of the employee council.

[Question]: The law on the state enterprise's worker self-management is a good legal basis for employee council activity.

[Answer]: It is true that there is a law and there are legal instruments, but the existence of certain legal instruments is not enough, unless there is the desire to make advantage of them. Proof of this is the great reserve many workers have towards the idea of self-management.

[Question]: To an ever increasing extent, the desire to use the rights given us is determining the degree of interest in the condition and future of our economy.

[Answer]: It is obvious that the future of every society is determined by its attitude. The whole society must become aware of the need for active participation in turning its reason for being into reality. In other words, if we want to reform the economy, then we have to fight for this reform. If we consider the enterprise's independence to be the foundation, then we have to fight for this independence. The workers must defend the idea of the self-government and must defend its bodies. The self-government, by carrying out the law with regard to specific responsibilities and rights, especially responsibilities, bolsters its reason for being. Up until now, in most cases, the employee council was not given the task of fulfilling the responsible role designated for it by the Sejm with regard to social renewal and economic reform.

[Question]: Is the desire to take advantage of the laws that exist to be a panacea for the past difficulties with regard to bolstering the self-management?

[Answer]: I think that it is essential for there to be a general awareness that just as you cannot run a country without the participation of the society, so too you cannot run an enterprise without the participation of its workers.

## WORKERS' SELF-MANAGEMENT LINKED TO DEMOCRATIC ACTION

Warsaw TYGODNIK ROBOTNICZY in Polish No 9, 1 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Ryszard Kondrat: "Poppycock, Bunkum, Demagogic, or: Timidity of Democracy"]

[Text] A great deal has already been written about democracy as a way of exercising power and about government participation by the broad ranks of society, because democracy is an indispensable, inseparable element of the creation of socialism and of supplementing it with the content of political practice, because there is no way to build the new system without the support and joint participation of all working people, and democratic procedures of governing and running public affairs are the only way to incline the people to this.

More than 2 years ago, the National Council of the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth called on the people saying: "Education of the younger generation is the whole nation's job."

The question arises, however, of why, despite the progressing process of making the exercise of authority more democratic, we are still complaining that in many areas this process is running up against opposition and things are actually changing too slowly in terms of the expectations. No careful observer of our politics in practice can deny that during the past few years we have made tremendous changes in this regard. Suffice it to mention the substantial bolstering and significance of representative bodies, the Sejm, and national councils throughout the political system, the changes in election regulations to expand the influence of citizens' groups in choosing the best people. Nor can we forget the growing role of the employee self-government of the state enterprises or the broad reforms of the state and economic administration.

The scale of these changes and their consequences are to revolutionize the old structures and bring the government offices closer to the citizen and the managing units closer to production. Let us note how great has been the expansion of the broad sociooccupational links' influence on the establishment of laws and on the planning of political and economic activity as the result of the practice of consultation and the creation of numbers of institutions. I am thinking, for example, about the Sejm's Socioeconomic Council, the

opinion and counseling groups in the economic ministries, voivodship governors' offices, and city managers' offices, and also about the need to hold consultations on many documents with the All Polish Trade Union Agreement. These consultations, after all, are more than mere polite exchanges of opinion. They are a genuine practice as the result of which the various views and reasons, points of view, and interests come into contact with one another. A number of institutions have been created to make it impossible for the authorities to evade the law. Let us mention the Constitutional Tribunal and the Tribunal of state. Ombudsmen will see that society as a whole has the benefit of their civil rights. The influence of the social and professional organizations and civic bodies representing various community groups is broadening. There is legal protection for the influence resident self-government has on local authorities.

The manner of exercising authority has changed. Today it has the nature of a coalition, based on the party alliance and groups comprising the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth. The Consultative Council created at the Council of State is a new plane of dialogue between the authorities and various social groups. These examples alone -- there are a great many more of them -- show the scale of accomplishments stemming from the desire to expand democracy and make it a normal way for the state to function, with a constant dialogue between governmental bodies and institutions, and the citizenry.

It is in this context too that we should view the role and function of the workers' self-government as the basic unit bringing democracy into the processes of management and the guiding of production and the socioeconomic life of the enterprise and workplace. Today the form of the employees to share in managing general public property is no longer unusual in the sociopolitical practice of the state but an integrated system of democratic shared running of public affairs in which production management has many threads linking it to the functioning of the entire state organism. The economic reform, which cannot be fully implemented until the employee self-government system is developed, is an illustration of this fact.

But why is it that every day we forget about these achievements and why is there still so little democracy in the average social grouping? I think that among the basic factors, psychological mechanisms and stereotypes to which we have become accustomed and which both hamper any realistic observation of facts and paralyze our actions are of major significance, because it seems that in the legal-institutional sense, a great deal has been done to make progressive democracy function unhampered and to accelerate and deepen it continually in our state and economic life.

Theoretically we can assume the establishment of a few more new institutions or social bodies, but we know from practical experience that those that are already in existence and have broad authority are still not being fully utilized. How many representative bodies in the field are still suffering from paralysis and their own breakdown, with eyes cast upward, awaiting instructions, orders, and guidelines? How many self-governing bodies are there still out there that operate on a case-by-case basis, sporadically, undertaking interim problems unsuccessfully, problems bypassing the mainstream

of our life? How much unnecessary organizational busywork do we still have, and how many festive meetings and sessions dominated by poppycock, bunkum, and demagogery?

It is obvious that the conditions vary from one case to another, but they demonstrate inadequate awareness of the actual situation, poor skill in managing work, and lack of familiarity with legal regulations and old habits and customs. Given the absence of an offensive stance on the part of the democratic institutions and organizations, the remnants persist from the old cliques and systems, people who dream of returning to technocracy and bureaucracy, license and evasion of the law. The weaker the bodies making up the component of the democratic structure, the greater the opportunities for the adversaries to operate, and the greater the breakdown in the self-governing bodies, the greater the bureaucracy, heartlessness, and arrogance.

Therefore, the progression of democracy, on the one hand, should be forced on those who try to bypass it, and, on the other hand, we must teach them democracy, because it must not act as a screen for license by a certain social group, and it must not be taken to mean being exempt from social discipline and control either. Such progressive democracy is a contradiction of it, and rational action is turned into anarchy.

I think that awareness of the basic social goals that the parent body, institution, or employer is to serve and a definition of the place and personal role that each of us has in working towards them are one of the basic factors allowing for a broader application of democratic rules in public life. This should be aided by open, clear, operative internal organization, in which each has specific tasks which at the same time are subject to supervision, because messiness and incompetence are demoralizing, and it is against such a backdrop that a special sort of cliquishness and cunning develop to block democratic procedures and limit the daylight on operations of certain offices and organizational units.

If each place of employment, office, and organization were to fully carry out its tasks in keeping with the law and the principles of living together in society, our life would be so much easier. If each social self-governing body or organization helping to support democracy were to take full advantage of its legal privileges and authority, the places of employment and institutions would operate better than they do now. There is practically nothing preventing our aiming in this direction, once we overcome our own weaknesses and habits and begin to think and act democratically in our own community and in our own place of employment. "Democratically" here, means above all, in keeping with the law.

Our government by the people is by nature socialist. This means that it is mainly the democracy for the broad rank and file of the working people, that it is a practical form serving social development in the direction of changes in keeping with the principles of socialism. To divorce democracy from its class basis, as people sometimes try to do, also has its class conditioned meaning. Democracy has always been an instrument of a particular class or of the classes opposed to it. It does not take place without attempts to oppose it or interfere with it. Its full realization will take place when there are

no more class divisions or the consequent conflicts of interest. Then democracy too in this sense will cease to be necessary. At present it is an essential factor in the development of socialism, the learning of the difficult art of thinking in terms of social categories, shared governance, and shared responsibility.

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**LABOR COURTS AID IN WORKER-MANAGEMENT DISPUTES**

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23 Mar 87 p 3

[Article by Halina Lesnicka: "Employment Disputes"]

[Text] A brigade member quarreled with the head of the department. His foreman's supplement was cancelled, and he was removed from his duties, although there was no cause for it. The labor court judged this to be unfair to the brigade member and ordered that he be restored to his previous position.

The firm is undergoing reorganization and is eliminating some of its positions, but did it need to let go the very employee who was well thought of and had family problems as well?

These matters and many others like them are resolved daily in the labor courts. Each of them concerns the most vital employee interests, is widely commented on in the plant community, and creates certain models of behavior.

The labor courts, created as the result of the July 1985 reform, have barely been operating a year and a half, but they have already gained for themselves great moral authority and trust, as the number of cases flowing into these courts shows. They have been set up to resolve all sorts of employment disputes stemming from the labor law. Their sphere of influence is therefore very broad, encompassing problems related to employment, earnings, the award of bonuses and grants paid out of profits, damages for injuries on the job or occupational illness, vacation entitlements, protection of youth, and adherence to work discipline.

The labor courts often have to rule in cases that are very complicated in terms of the facts and the law, but they have a professional court staff well prepared to handle them, and they deal with them far better than the old arbitration and appeals commissions, which often had people without the proper legal knowledge.

Last year was actually the first one that could be considered a period of normal court operation, because the previous one was devoted mainly to clearing backlogs from the appeals and arbitration commissions along with business carried over from regional court organizations.

During 1986 more than 43,000 cases came to the regional labor courts that handle employment disputes of the first instance. Any employee who feels that he has been treated unfairly in a plant decision may avail himself first of all of the services of conciliation. This is up to him. Most of the cases go right away to the court.

This is somewhat of a defect, because surely more cases could end at the conciliation level. Because emotion, stubbornness, and the desire for self-determination often take the upper hand, disputes in the phase of severe conflict wind up in the courts.

#### Which Side Is Right?

The largest number of cases had to do with dissolution of the work agreement. There were nearly 10,000 such cases (with notice), along with 8,000 disciplinary cases (without notice). In these cases the courts acted in keeping with the principle of protecting the interests of the employees who discharged their duties faithfully, but when the economic reform gave the enterprises freedom to set their level of employment, it created a new situation. It can happen, for example, that under the pretext of reorganization or combining positions people are let go who are inconvenient, people who have offended, for example, by tracking down instances of waste and abuse, and other people are put in their jobs. That the plants are all that quick to give employees notice is proved by the fact that in only about one-third of these cases do the courts find for the employees and agree with their claims entirely or in part. Most of employee complaints of this sort have been rejected by district courts, and in nearly 2,000 cases a settlement was reached.

Although employees often come to court through stubbornness, even knowing that they are wrong and have no chance of winning the case, employers are somewhat more cautious. Sometimes they even exhibit surprising tolerance toward serious violations of employee obligations such as the prohibition against consumption of alcohol in the workplace. It happens that an employee fired for drunkenness appeals to the court, and here it turns out that the plant itself has already rejected disciplinary firing or replaced it with a notice more favorable to the employee. This often happens under the pressure of a difficult labor market situation or as the result of the employee's pleading, but this is surely not the way to bolster work discipline.

#### Without Sobering Up

There are also reverse situations, in which the plant was too hasty in classifying an absence as leaving the job, when the employee, for example, was not able to produce a physician's certificate by the deadline. Employees last year won more than 200 such cases, but no court would restore a job to a person who used a physician's certificate to take a trip abroad and was later fired in a disciplinary action. Nonetheless, such cases continually find their way to the labor courts.

In terms of numbers, pay disputes come second. Last year there were nearly 10,000 such cases. Many enterprises currently have their own plant system of wages and regulations for bonuses and profit-sharing. Sometimes these regulations are very vague and not very precise. This fact makes it difficult for the courts to make a finding.

In pay disputes, however, agreements are often reached. The courts would have far less work, if the enterprises were more careful in drafting their documentation and in abiding by their own regulations. This also applies to cases related to damages for on-the-job injuries and occupational illness, where the courts often find it very difficult to reproduce the factual state of affairs. There are cases here where the blame is shifted to the employees. Last year 1,200 accident cases were filed along with 300 cases of damages for accidents on the job. This does not speak favorable for the work of the accident commissions.

There is a far smaller number of cases involving disputes over issues such as issuing work certificates and evaluations, or adherence to rules regarding vacations and regulations for the protection of youth and women. The regulations are generally known in the enterprises and do not cause any problems in interpretation.

All together about one-quarter of cases in the regional labor courts decide in favor of the employee, and one case out of every ten ends in an agreement, but about 16,000 cases were found to be unjustified. In most of these findings the matter ends at this level.

#### Who Appeals?

The voivodship labor courts and social security courts handling these cases at the second instance received 4,000 employee appeals, and in 1,200 cases the work establishment appealed. The findings of the regional courts were rarely overturned by appellate courts. This shows the correctness of the findings of the lower courts and the small number of errors they commit. This is very important, because the findings of the labor courts have a great influence on law and order in work relations and enterprise practice in these matters.

Large plants with an expanded legal service generally do not have problems with this. It is worse for the small enterprises, where the level of legal services sometimes leaves much to be desired, and there are instances of dishonesty, using public money.

On the other hand, the employee must often defend himself against accusations on the part of the enterprise. The trade union organizations still do not participate adequately in these cases. They rarely come out on behalf of the employee. Last year a number of agreements were signed with labor organizations to prepare union activists, for example, to participate in these cases, but they are not exercising their privileges sufficiently yet.

After barely a year and a half of experience, we must say that the labor courts are surely playing their role better than the former conciliation and appeals commissions did. They act far more quickly and efficiently, and above all, they are more competent, which is very important for people wanting a speedy resolution to their case, which is sometimes of basic importance to their existence.

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## WORKER Q&amp;A SESSION ON BRIGADE SYSTEM, SELF-MANAGEMENT

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Mar 87 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ryszard Bilski: "Workers Ask Workers: Who Can Become a Leader? -- With RZECZPOSPOLITA at the Factory"; joint interview conducted by employees of Warsaw Zelmot, Nowotka, Warynski, FSO Automobile Factory, and many others, who directed questions to Adam Mata, Jacek Galinski, and Wieslaw Matwiejczuk, "leaders," or, heads of brigades and plenipotentiaries of the director in chief at Swierczewski plants.]

[Text] What is a brigade project? Is it worth running? How much is there to be gained or lost? Where do you begin? Is it true that at Swierczewski in Warsaw the workers on the brigades earn between 40,000 and 50,000 zlotys per month, without overtime?

There are many questions. And still more doubts, but hopes too. Should we try it at our place?

At the initiative of the PZPR Warsaw Committee and the capital's Workers' Association of Creators of Culture, a Leader's Club started up at the end of January in Warsaw. Its main goal is to prepare enterprise employees to inculcate group forms of labor management.

16 March. 13:00. K. Swierczewski Precision Instrument Factory in Warsaw. Club meeting, that is, working meeting, of "Lider." Several dozen people have arrived from plants in Warsaw Voivodship: foreman, team leaders, heads of departments, activists from the workers' self-management group, from the trade unions...

We go to the departments. We talk to the heads of the brigade teams who are being called "leaders" here, with members of these brigades, or teams.

The workers ask the workers! Briefly. Concretely. Without beating about the bush. The answers come back the same way. This is the first time in my life as a journalist (I have a quarter century of such work behind me) that I witness such a collective interview. Let us listen in.

[Question]: What does the brigade do? Does it really make the product from start to finish, as they say?

[Answer]: Exactly. We get the raw material, and we turn it out. We sell the product complete, inspected, and packaged.

[Question]: Inspected?

[Answer]: The brigade has its own inspector.

[Question]: What for? You must wink at some things?

[Answer]: That would not work. Let's assume that we sell production worth 100,000 zlotys. We take, for example, 10,000, but when the complaints come, they take 100,000 from us. How could you make money that way?

[Question]: Who decides that some job should bring you just exactly 10,000 zlotys?

[Answer]: Before the brigade was created, for half a year and sometimes longer, people watched and analyzed what cost how much, what the percentage of labor in it was. And that is how the payment for a concrete job or piece of work was established, but how we do it, how we divide up the money, is our own affair. At first we used the sale price, but now we use the factory price. This means that our wage is not tied, for example, to the fluctuation in the prices for the materials.

[Question]: And what is the relationship between the brigade's remuneration and other price or wage fluctuations? Is inflation taken into account?

[Answer]: No. We must all work for ourselves. Management determines it. That's no slogan. It's the truth! We always used to be complaining about the labor shortage. Now we have stopped advertising in the newspapers or looking for people. Employment has dropped several percent, but production has increased, so the wages are higher.

[Question]: But the simple reserves will be exhausted.

[Answer]: Then we will go to our deposits. There is technical progress.

[Question]: But it costs...

[Answer]: Those who create and implement it also work as brigade members, and they receive higher earnings for good solutions that are quickly implemented and produce benefits.

[Question]: You used to be a foreman, and now you are one of those "leaders." What's the difference? Just earnings?

[Answer]: First, obligations. For example, I directed an repair team of 50 people. As a foreman I had my little piece in the repair process, but now I am responsible for the whole thing. I do not get paid until I repair a machine and it is collected. As the foreman I had a specific sphere of duties. When I ran into something that could not be handled, I simply didn't

do it, but now there is no question about it. I am responsible for it all, under all conditions, and somehow it all comes out.

[Question]: For what sort of money?

[Answer]: For the money the brigade decides to give me.

[Question]: How much?

[Answer]: The hourly pay varies.

[Question]: What do you mean by hourly? Aren't there various categories?

[Answer]: No. When the brigade is set up, nobody looks at groups. After all, we know, you and we from our own experience that sometimes a group received its pay not because of qualifications or good work, but agreements. With us the rates run from 80 zlotys per hour to 165. The brigade decided to give me 5 zlotys more.

[Question]: Who can become a leader?

[Answer]: Whoever the group selects. But they don't pick just anybody. Our leaders are technicians. Sometimes there are also leaders who are elementary school graduates, but they have practical experience.

[Question]: Aren't you afraid that the present leaders will succumb to the ever more difficult conditions?

[Answer]: New better ones will come who will manage.

[Question]: How much more do you pay for overtime?

[Answer]: We have forgotten about overtime. There are no such hours. First, the work is organized to avoid having to take extra hours, and when it's necessary, the present hourly rate is incentive enough. After all, we can still use a bonus as an incentive.

[Question]: What percentage?

[Answer]: Not a fixed percentage but a set lump sum for, let us say, special effort.

[Question]: What if somebody gets sick?

[Answer]: Then he gets sick pay. Out of the brigade fund. We pay him for up to 3 months. After that he switches to be in the "keep" of the factory. But in the brigade team system, people do not get sick so often. This in no way means that sick people come to work pretending to be well. That is no the point. Disease does not make choices, but we do not have "special occasion" diseases, to work in the garden, to celebrate your name day, and so on. You don't cheat on your buddies at work. That would be sort of stupid. Money saved from illnesses goes to increase our fund.

## How Much? And For What?

[Question]: This year wages may increase by only 12 percent. Isn't that too little for you?

[Question]: Of course it's too little. There is never too much money, but your reading isn't quite correct. The 12 percent applies not to individual earnings but to the whole fund. Nobody among us would refuse to pay for higher output, but usually everyone asks how much he will get without giving anything more in return. For us that is not possible. I will say something else: In the brigade system, the thing is that if some level has already been reached, then it cannot drop from there, because then you'll get it, right in the pocket. At least that is the way it works with us.

[Question]: I tell you quite openly that I am jealous of your earnings, but I am not jealous of your grind.

[Answer]: The fact that now we are doing a lot more does not mean that it is all that much harder for us. We are mainly working smarter, more consistently and sensibly. Before, when somebody got a more profitable job or was using some unique machine, he "respected" the job so much, in order to work whole days and still managed to catch a few hours of overtime, although everyone knew that if he had applied himself, he could have done it all in half a day. Now this would be unthinkable. A metal worker finishes his own work and then, for example, starts packing goods, cleaning up, or preparing production details, because the end result is important, the finished product that is sold.

[Question]: Do you do your own supplementary work connected to your jobs?

[Answer]: We have to.

[Question]: And machine upkeep?

[Answer]: We have an electrician in the brigade, but he has also learned several vocations. After restoration he takes on production.

[Question]: So the director of the brigade -- you call him the leader -- therefore holds the brigade on a short leash.

[Answer]: We all do. Now everyone in the brigade knows well that discipline is the money in his pocket. Technological discipline, organizational discipline. There is nothing at the factory's cost. It all costs the brigade.

[Question]: Are there people anxious to join?

[Answer]: It varies. Generally, yes, because nearly the whole factory is already working on this system, but at first, when the employee had a choice, with us he worked diligently or he worked under the old system and just came to work. It varied.

[Question]: And how do you pay a new employee who comes into the brigade?

[Answer]: For a training period, for 3 months, the factory pays.

[Question]: That is good business. After 3 months you say that he does not fit and take another new one paid again by the factory, but he does some sort of work on behalf of the brigade.

[Answer]: It is not that good. If within 6 months after the training period the new employee leaves the brigade, we return the money for the training period to the factory.

Unlike the group of pay steps, the hourly rates are not given once and for all. When we see that an employee is beginning to loaf around, we give him 3 days to consider either to shape up or to slide to a lower pay rate. This sort of reflection works.

[Question]: Well, but older employees may not after all be able to step so lively anymore. That is inhumane.

[Answer]: If a person is older, he has more experience and higher qualifications. He usually has a lighter job, but instead of sitting at a machine he sits, for example, at a table and monitors things. Everyone ages. We are well aware of this and remember it.

[Question]: What is the role of the head of the department? Do you need him at all? What can he do?

[Answer]: The head of the department no longer has the large office and staff he used to have, because he no longer has to pressure, warn, remind, push, or demand, because the economic system serves as adequate incentive to work and increase productivity. The head merely coordinates and oversees, because he is familiar with the plan and the long-range goals. He looks out for dangers. Today nobody bothers the head with minor things. It is not a question of a raise as it once was. To put it briefly: the head's domain is initiative and conceptualization. He is no longer the emergency fix-it man for everything.

[Question]: Who provides the services to the brigade? I am in mind the delivery of raw materials, transportation, and implements.

[Answer]: Either other brigades or we ourselves do. Auxiliary services are going over to this system.

[Question]: We know what this system has given people, but what is there in it for the factory and society?

[Answer]: I can see clearly that you are afraid that we are taking money for nothing. You are not the only ones to think this way. People imagined that the directors had created hot house conditions for the brigades, that it had given them privileges. But what sort of privileges and in whose interests? To give us more? That is a misunderstanding. In some groups productivity has

increased by from a dozen and some percent to several dozen percentage points. There are people who are doing twice what they once did. Absenteeism has declined. Machine stoppages are a tenth of what they once were. There are fewer emergencies. Repairs are shorter. Material turns around more quickly. There are fewer defects. The quality is higher. More than 100 management positions of various sorts have been cut. There is less bureaucracy, because trust has increased, and now there is no longer any need to issue two pieces of paper with several stamps on each one for every screw.

#### First Step

[Question]: Where do you start to introduce the brigade system? We have had a lot of talk about it for a long time, but somehow nothing is coming of it.

[Answer]: Who is talking about it?

[Question]: Management.

[Answer]: That is both good and bad. It is good, because you do not have to convince them, but it is bad, because if the brigade system comes in from the top, the people will suspect that management is trying something, that it wants to get after the standards or wages. I would advise you to organize a brigade of several people yourselves. It is a question of making a breakthrough, of setting up a model. Show finished production and wages.

From experience we know that at first the people most against the brigade system are those who have the greatest influence on its success or failure, that is, technical supervision. Let us not deceive ourselves. They are comfortable with the old ways. The foreman has made it to a top group and gets a supplement. Without much effort he can live rather well.

You have to find a mentor to support you and to bolster and defend you. The PZPR Factory Committee was the mentor for us. Without them we would have perished. The old ways cannot be overcome.

[Question]: There are leaders. There are brigade councils. So you probably do not need a self-management group or employee's council anymore.

[Answer]: The self-management group is very necessary, but I think that in enterprises going over to the brigade system it will be somewhat different from the others. We hope that the very people going on to the employee's council will be the members of brigade councils. Then the employee's council would become something that integrated the brigades, something linking their interest still more closely to the interest of the whole firm.

[Question]: But what about the old activists of the employee's councils and the trade unions?

[Answer]: After all, these are not for life. The people are elected. Besides, if an activist is an expert, there will always be a spot for him in a brigade.

[Question]: You have been presented as leaders and at the same time as plenipotentiaries of the director in chief. What does that mean?

[Answer]: That we have additional rights and responsibilities. For example, we give our opinion on the usefulness of setting up new brigades. Here our acceptance is needed. We intervene where something wrong is going on.

[Question]: For example?

[Answer]: One of the jobs was assessed badly. The value was lowered by a million zlotys. We called for another analysis.

[Question]: You have uniform production. Maybe you do not have supply problems, but in our place a brigade could not be introduced. We sometimes have to send a helicopter for spare parts at our place, to keep from having production held up. The helicopter delivery costs more than the parts.

[Answer]: That is very bad, because if the money for the helicopter services could go for technical progress, to a brigade, then I guarantee that after a few months the assembly room would have enough parts.

You have to turn the arguments around. Let's not say that the brigade system cannot be introduced, because there is a shortage of materials, parts, and raw materials. Let's introduce the brigade system, in order to overcome these difficulties and solve the problems. The brigade system is not an end in itself but a way that is better, more interesting, literally richer way that is life-giving.

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## SELF-MANAGEMENT, PEOPLES COUNCILS COOPERATION NECESSARY

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 May 87 p 5

[Article: "Cooperation With Self-Government"]

[Text] The current status of cooperation and collaboration between worker self-government organs and local organs of the state administration as well as voivodship peoples councils, and the possibility of increasing this cooperation and collaboration were the subjects of the 13 May meeting of the Sejm Commission on Self-Government Affairs. PZPR Deputy Stanislaw Kania chaired the meeting. Jadwiga Biedrzycka (PZPR), deputy marshal of the Sejm, participated in the meeting.

Cooperation of local administrative organs with enterprise workers' self-governments includes, among other things, helping to resolve legal problems; encouraging economic production and organizational activities; alleviating and resolving disputes and conflicts regarding jurisdictions; exchanging experiences; providing information and counsel; meetings and consultations; and so on. In his talk to the deputies, Andrzej Paczop, deputy minister of labor, wages and social affairs, said that cooperation of worker self-government organs with directors of enterprises and with local administrative organs is, in general, proceeding properly, and the number of reservations is not increasing. However, it should be emphasized that the promoting organs continue to be the most active, while the worker councils make fewer proposals to change the forms or methods of collaboration.

The same can be said about cooperation of worker self-governments with voivodship peoples councils, which should help the self-governments in executing their legal and statutory tasks. The letter of the law is taken literally here. As stated in the Council of State Chancery report entitled "Cooperation of Voivodship Peoples Councils With Worker Self-Governments of State Enterprises" that was presented at the meeting: only the peoples councils are initiating cooperation; the chairmen of workers councils do not take any action in this area on their own initiative. However, they participate eagerly in WRN meetings and their commissions on self-government, and they are aware of the need to make use of the legal help available via the WRN voivodship deputy and presidium groups. In addition, meetings of peoples

councils presidiums are being held increasingly in workplaces, which permit problems to be resolved more effectively; production difficulties and barriers to be overcome; and workers councils to help meet local needs.

Experience shows that when there are direct contacts between peoples councils and workers councils, no serious problems are encountered in obtaining the help of enterprises concerning the needs of a district, town, gmina or voivodship. Lodz is a good example of this. It is assumed that the socioeconomic associated with the WRN will to a great extent facilitate cooperation between self-governments and workers councils. The total membership of these councils is 2,671, of which 796 were recommended by enterprise worker self-governemnt councils, that is, nearly 30 percent.

In the discussions by the deputies as well as in the comments of the representatives of commission on self-government affairs of voivodship peoples councils from Lodz, Szczecin, Kalisz and Warsaw, it was emphasized that, thanks to the socioeconomic councils, the self-government organs represented in them have greater and more lasting influence on decisions made by the WRN, as well as more information regarding the goals of voivodship authorities. Attention was also focused on the significance of the inspirational activities of the voivods as promoters of enterprises expanding cooperation between self-governments and the national council.

During the second part of the meeting, the deputies reviewed the tasks of the Center for Self-Government Studies in the area of coordinating and training self-government activists.

Deputies Wladyslaw Klimczak (PZPR), Lucjan Stepien (SD) and Ryszard Cazy (PZPR) participated in the discussions.

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## OPZZ OPPOSITION TO PRICE HIKES DETAILED

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 14, 4 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by Marek Henzler: "Three Rounds"]

[Text] The first round in the conflict over prices between the unions and the government ran from last summer up to this past March. Trade unionists helped draft the Central Annus Plan, or CPR, with regulations on prices and income in 1987, which the Sejm, including more than 50 trade union deputies, ratified in December along with the budget law, and sent to the government for execution.

Prices on basic items (except alcohol and cigarettes) were to increase by 13 percent, those on energy and conveyors of power by 50 percent. Services were to become more expensive, and some food prices previously set by the government were put into the category of conventional prices. This latter matter led to tensions back in January, because the dairy people "conventionally" increased the cream price, which had previously been controlled by the government, and the sausage manufacturers did the same with black pudding and head cheese. Trade unionists called this hike "price banditry," and Alfred Miodowicz sent the premier a letter on the matter.

As a result, price increases were put under supervision, and limits were set on the range of such increases. "The storm over the cream cap" was a lesson not only to the government but also to the OPZZ (trade union) leadership. It showed that the CPR draft could be drafted in cooperation with the government, there could be consultations on it, there could be joint discussions and decision making in the Sejm about adopting it, but independent of the economic reasons voiced by the government nearly non-stop and most frequently issued by activists on Kopernik Street, what counts most is the feelings and voices of the 7 million rank and file unionists, the 4 million employees not on union membership lists, the millions of pensioners, annuitants, and rural inhabitants, and so on.

On this past 2 March, during a meeting between the Council of Ministers and the OPZZ executive committee, the union "higher-ups" were informed of the details of the government's price policy in 1987. At that time Alfred Miodowicz stated that increases in food prices were considered by trade unionists to be "economically misguided and socially risky," because the ones

in the past have not produced anything but inflation. The authors of the increases forget about "the phenomenon of material fatigue," the OPZZ chairman warned. "I am afraid of our reaching a critical state."

On 17 March, the OPZZ executive committee, federation heads, and the chairman of the Voivodship Trade Union Agreements met with a government group Deputy Premier Jozef Koziol's. The meeting resulted in well-known trade union and government statements.

Deputy Premier Koziol explained the government's price and income policy and the conditions underlying it. "I would like to beg that we not lose the opportunity for a harmonious implementation of our program, because this is an opportunity for the whole economy, and, as a result, for society," he said at the end in an appeal.

Waclaw Martyniuk, OPZZ deputy chairman, said that the price increases proposed after the recent congress would be a standard by which to measure the role of the trade unions. The past few years have shown that previous so-called consultations on price increases are merely the choice of a lesser evil and the illusion that trade unionists have an impact on the standard of living, and they can no longer be accepted. "Our duty is to provide a warning: the proposed price policy can cause either social unrest or deepened social apathy," Martyniuk warned.

He was followed by Franciszek Kubiczek, deputy chairman of the Planning Commission; Bronislaw Cias, secretary of state at the Ministry of Finance; and Stanislaw Gebala, Minister of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs. They talked about the 1.5 billion subsidy wringing the economy, about the unsteady balance on the food market, about what would increase in price when and by how much, and the sort of protective measures the government was planning to take.

The trade unionists prepared for the talks with exceptional care. Bohdan Nowak, head of the metal workers, said: "The unrest in Poland's difficult years started with the plants in the metal branch...And if somebody today wanted to hear calming words from me on the subject, I unfortunately would not be able to say them to you." If prices head upwards, then "the situation could be tragic." "The respect we have, the contempt we might have, the disregard we eventually expect" depend on the unions' stand on the proposed prices.

Maciej Manicki, representative of the "Shipyards Industry" branch, said that trade unionists are again doing the government's dirty work and carrying out its agenda. His branch is against the increases, and is using the trade union law's authorization as a defense against them.

Kazimierz Iwaniec, of the agricultural workers' federation, said that government efforts have made mistakes in calculating the effects of the price increases, which he estimates at 25 percent.

In the opinion of Stanislaw Bar, a construction worker, many protective measures were anticipated earlier and will not ease the impact of the hikes. "I take today's meeting as a sign that the government is basing its decisions

on union opinion," said Stanislaw Bargiel (WPZZ Zielona Gora). "Is the government's social policy not caving in to the pressure of the International Monetary Fund?"

"The way the prices look is the way the whole economy looks. It is one great system that is disorganized, disoriented, and a mess...The material given us for the consultation is not acceptable," a representative of the miners said. It is not cohesive or complete. It is full of slogans. In future any discussion of prices should be held in conjunction with a discussion on the CPR."

Government representatives argued with the union statements, and the unionists responded. In the first vote they also made a decision not to adopt any position at all, because there was no reason for the unions vote on the subject, inasmuch as the increase has already been planned in the CPR anyway.

Alfred Miodowicz made an appeal: "What sort of world are you living in? If we do not endorse any reasonable price movement, we will dismantle the shelves. Let us agree to a price increase, but not to one that is so great or widespread and not to such minor protective measures. Otherwise, as a union movement we can fall over our own feet." It was only then that those present at the meeting revoked the previous stand and adopted the union stand on which has already been written up in the press.

On 25 March, the OPZZ council took up the new prices. The OPZZ chairman made an appeal right at the beginning and issued a warning: "We have to sit here until we reach a conclusion, and we must not go aware angry at ourselves and each other." Deputy Premier Kozioł said that the government had made a thorough analysis and reviewed the social and economic aspects mentioned in the union presentations. Again it weighed the economy's possibilities and decided to economize, which is why it was possible to take certain demands into account.

The finance minister presented the details. After consultations with members of the Central Committee and additional talks with the union team, the government wanted to maintain certain price proposals and reduce others or defer them. Nearly all the protective measures proposed by the trade unions were taken into account. What then did the government relinquish?

A 13-percent price increase on meat and meat products (reduced to 10 percent), a 30-percent increase on rolls (reduced to 25 percent), an increase of 6-7 zlotys per loaf on bread (reduced to 4 zlotys), price increases of 4 zlotys per ticket on urban transportation (reduced to 3 zlotys), and 65-percent increases in PKP train ticket prices (reduced to 40 percent), for PKS bus tickets too. Furthermore, the increases were deferred from June to October. The government gave up its plan for doubling prices on power and carriers. There will be a price increase of about 50 percent.

And again discussion broke out. Who authorized what union group to hold talks with the government between 17 and 25 March? Will these increases eliminate the wage-price race? When will protective measures increase and by how much?

The OPZZ chairman responded that we ourselves gave permission for talks with the government. We could not wait for the government to ask.

The milk transport federation representative accused the strong branches of receiving a coal allowance, saying that they had their own interests in mind in obtaining tax exemptions and had forgotten about everyone else.

How do we prove that the trade unions won something from the government, inasmuch as society was not warned earlier about the scale of the increases? How do we make it seem credible that as the result of the joint discussions and flying at our own throats we are in a better situation? Will society not see this battle as a posed play, in which the government overinflated its demands ahead of time in order to get us to agree to their price strategy in the end?

If we do not start effectively defending the workers, they will begin doing it for themselves.

Stanislaw Wisiewski, of the work veterans' council, accused the government of having protective measures that did not take into account the interests of retired people and annuitants at all and did not give them a single zloty. He was answered by Minister A. Paczos, who said that last year's increases in pensions and annuities also take in the increases in the cost of living caused by the upward movement of prices.

At the end of the 8 hours of deliberations with successive votes taken, after additional arguments by the chairman, the OPZZ council rejected all the proposals to expand the package of protective measures agreed on with the government. At issue were allowances, drastic increases in all family benefits, and compensation for retired people and annuitants. Therefore, we can say that economic realism and, despite everything, trust in the government, predominated in the trade union leadership.

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## OMBUDSMAN DRAFT BILL DETAILED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 May 87 p 5

[Article: "Ombudsman for Citizen's Rights; Draft Bill Submitted to Marshal of the Sejm"]

[Text] The Sejm's citizen's rights ombudsman draft bill was submitted May 6 to the Marshall of the Sejm. The deputies who endorsed the bill emphasize that the main reason for creating the ombudsman institution is to create additional and more effective forms for protecting the rights of citizens with regard to the actions of administrative and other state and social organs.

As is known from the initiative, this new institution was proposed by the PRON at its first Congress. The initiative was supported by the 10th PZPR Congress.

The first article of the Sejm draft bill states that the ombudsman for citizen's rights is a state organ standing guard over the rights and freedoms of citizens stipulated in the Constitution and legal regulations. In matters concerning the protection of rights, the ombudsman investigates if agencies, organizations and institutions that are legally required to protect these rights and freedoms did not violate these rights or the principles of social justice and community life as a result of their actions or desistance.

The draft stipulates that the ombudsman shall be a national institution. It will be appointed by the Sejm (on the recommendation of the PRON National Council or Presidium of the Sejm) for a 4-year term. The independence of the ombudsman's activities and his independence from other state agencies are emphasized. He will be responsible only to the Sejm. Ombudsman immunity means that he cannot be prosecuted, arrested or even detained without Sejm approval. The ombudsman's duties cannot be combined with other employment or public functions. However, he may be a deputy. Each year he must present a report to the Sejm and comment on the status of how the rights and freedoms of citizens are being observed.

All citizens will have equal access to the ombudsman. There will be a minimum of formalities. The ombudsman will take action if he receives information indicating that the rights and freedom of a citizen were violated. He also

will be able to initiate action on the recommendations of the PRON, self-government and other organizations legally authorized to defend the rights and interests of working people.

The draft grants extensive authority to the ombudsman, including the right to demand from any administrator explanations and all records in all matters. He also will have the right to amend decisions that are contrary to legal court judgments, and to make recommendations to the Constitutional Tribunal.

If the ombudsman finds that designated, obligatory legal regulations are deficient (internal contradictions, gaps, incompatibility with the principles of community life and social justice), he will have the right to access the appropriate agencies to initiate corrective legislative action.

The draft does not preclude the possibility of expanding the ombudsman function in Poland. If needed, the ombudsman eventually may appoint local plenipotentiaries. In all cases, the concurrence of the Sejm will be required.

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## PUBLIC CONSULTATION, REFERENDUM BILL GETS DELEGATE SUPPORT

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 7 May 87 p 5

[Discussion with Marianna Skrzypek, PZPR Sejm deputy representing the 28th election district, Katowice, and Jan Pryszcz, PZPR Sejm deputy representing the 50th election district, Piotrkow Trybunalski, by (kami): "RZECZPOSPOLITA's Sejm Discussions"]

[Question] Does the public consultation-referendum bill meet State expectations?

Marianna Skrzypek: I believe so. Especially since the question of referenda, so-called decisive referenda, was settled satisfactorily not only from my point of view but also in accord with the views of my constituents. The question was debated extensively by the Special Committee because a constitutional amendment is required.

Jan Pryszcz: The contents of the bill which we debated today will greatly facilitate the Sejm's work. Of course drafts are received by the parliament that require public scrutiny. Naturally, this occurs when deputies meet, but not often enough. Concerning referenda, I, like most deputies, believe that they will enrich our political institutions significantly, and the use of referenda by the Sejm in exceptionally critical matters will make it easier for us to make decisions that are in accordance with the desires of the greatest number of people. Thus, I can state that the contents of the passed bill fully satisfies our expectations.

[Question] But will not referenda weaken the Sejm's position vis-a-vis its legislative prerogatives?

Jan Pryszcz: Perhaps, but it only appears that way. Regardless of what democratic procedures will be used, one should not forget that the Sejm makes the final decision in a specific matter. The Sejm will also decide what question will be submitted to a referendum. Thus, everything depends on the Sejm's will. I believe we will not submit minor, trivial questions to a public referendum. We will probably select questions that are of basic significance to the State.

Marianna Skrzypek: Public consultations are nothing new. However, the question is: How should they be employed? I continue to think about a formula for the most rational way to employ consultations. Concerning referenda, it is known from past experiences that they are seldom used in other countries concerning basic questions. In this sense, I believe referenda are not obviously abused either at the local or central level. They should be an aid for representative bodies and an important school for democracy.

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**COMMENTARY FAVORS PASSAGE OF CONSULTATION-REFERENDUM BILL**

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 12 May 87 p 1

(Article by (Aja): "Public Consultations and Referenda")

(Text) The public consultation and referendum bill passed at the Sejm's last plenary session is the result of 4 years of legislative work and study. The opinions and recommendations derived from the discussions conducted within the PRON framework, by the Socio-Economic Council that was formed by the Sejm Special Commission, within the legal and social organization communities, and at meetings with voters permitted the creation of a draft law that to a great extent is in accord with the views of specialists and the majority opinions of the public as expressed during the course of the public consultations on this theme.

The discussions preceding the bill's passage were not without controversy or clashing opinions. Some voices were heard doubting the wisdom of introducing the institution of public referenda and consultations into our public life. Others opined that political decisions should be made by people trained to do so--professional politicians--and that extending democracy gives a voice in making decisions to people lacking the proper knowledge and experience. However, these voices were few in number. Most people were convinced that society is well prepared to participate in such real forms of direct democracy and were certain that citizens are able and want to accept the burden of shared responsibility by discussing and deciding matters that are of basic significance to the interests of society and the country.

Till now only state organs were authorized to conduct consultations. The new bill expands this capability, giving PRON and other political and social organizations, among others, the right to initiate public consultations on specific matters.

The bill requires state agencies to review opinions and recommendations made during consultations and to consider them when making decisions. This is an especially important provision because our experience in conducting consultations is mixed, even though the institution of public consultations is not unknown in Poland. Consultations on drafts under consideration have taken place that led to many original changes. However, there also were consultations that did not basically have any effect on undertaking a decision

or making an alternate selection. This was not because citizen participation in a discussion was nil, but because the organs involved in the consultations did not always make use of their results.

However, the problem is not this or that kind of legal formulation but rather its practical implementation. Naturally, one should not expect the bill to produce immediate social results, or to induce people to participate actively in public life who to date stayed on the sidelines and did not think it possible to participate in making decisions that are important for their region or community or, finally, to lead to a consensus when considering controversial local matters. However, taking into consideration its perspective character and the durability of the institution it will create, it undoubtedly will become a school for democracy and for thinking about the country's future in terms of the general good and not in terms of personal gain.

The referendum, a new institution introduced by the bill, is used in exceptional situations to review those matters that are most important to the nation and country. The fact that this form of direct democracy has been used more than one time only in 10 countries, even though the constitutions of 150 countries contain provisions for referenda, is the best example of the importance of this type of voting. In countries with a long tradition of referenda, at times the objection is raised that referenda do not provide the citizen the means to justify his selection or share his opinions on specific problems. The bill passed by the Sejm, combining in a single legal act the institutions of public consultation and referenda, is designed to encourage citizens to participate actively in these forms of direct democracy and is a precedent on a global scale.

Of course, state interests are take precedence. Thus, the bill limits the subject matter of consultations and referenda; it excludes themes associated with defense, the armed forces of the Polish People's Republic, state security and state secrets.

The Constitution (after the amendment is introduced) as well as the bill on public consultations and referenda confirm once again that the representative system, as expressed by the operation of the Sejm and national councils, is the basic form of governing in Poland. Enriching the system of socialist democracy via the institutions of public consultations and referenda expands government by the people and realizes the concept of a participatory democracy in which the citizen is assured of the right to participate in decisions concerning his personal affairs as well as the affairs of the entire country.

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## DRAFT BILL REGULATING LEGISLATIVE PROCESS VIEWED

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 May 87 p 5

[Article: "The Legislative Process Bill"]

[Text] Work on the draft of the legislative process bill has ended. The final work was done by a public group consisting of representatives of the ZPP [Association of Polish Lawyers], PRON, and the Polish Academy of Sciences Institute for State and Law. At the May 13 meeting of the Sejm Legislative Process Commission, Docent Adam Zielinski, chairman of the ZPP Main Administration, apprised the deputies of the main directions of the projected changes. Immediately before that the deputies heard a report from Prof Sylvester Zawadzki on the status of the bill and its conclusions concerning legislative policy.

The lack of internal cohesiveness, excessive ministerial regulations, and regulations containing too many details are the main weaknesses of our legal system, frequently the result of legislative haste and universal faith in the omnipotence of laws. In addition, a legislator does not always link the significance of a draft bill to its justification, which should designate goals, expected results and the cost of implementing the new solutions.

Thus, a law regulating the legislative process is very necessary. Above all the concern here is about improving the quality of laws. According to President A. Zielinski, this goal will be served by regulating the system of the origin of laws, limiting the range of subjects authorized to create regulations; increasing the role of professionals in the legislative process; and standardizing the regulations concerning the announcement of laws, their implementation, registration and the like.

Will the bill be passed and when?

The deputies, in evaluating the significance of the law, are in favor of completing work on the bill as quickly as possible. However, Minister Kazimierz Malecki, undersecretary of state at the URM [Office of the Council of Ministers], who was present at the meeting, mentioned the conditions that will accompany this work. For example, the law should be examined in the

context of the future law on the Council of Ministers. In addition, it should be evaluated by the Legislative Council of the President of the Council of Ministers.

The question of initiating the legislation of this important legal act still remains open. The deputies resolved to approach the Presidium of the Sejm to determine who, in conjunction with the Council of State and the URM, will initiate this type legislation.

During the second part of the meeting, the commission members learned about monitoring the execution of some of the laws passed this term. During this period, 15 Sejm commissions evaluated the execution of 22 laws, 20 of which originated during the 1980-1985 period. The analyses of the deputies indicated many organizational, personnel and financial difficulties were encountered when the laws were implemented. The non-publication of parts of laws is especially disturbing. The 1974 water law is a vivid example of this.

An auditing indicated the need to amend two laws: the housing law and the law on procedures concerning individuals shirking work.

The audit material will be presented to the Presidium of the Sejm.

The Commission on Legislative Processes meeting was chaired by ZSL Deputy Emil Kolodziej and was attended by representatives of other Sejm commissions as well as invited guests from the Ministry of Justice, the PRON and the URM.

Deputies Eugeniusz Ochendowski (non-party), Emilia Pogonowska-Jucha (ZSL), Józef Szawiec (SD), Jerzy Jaskiernia (PZPR) and Stanisław Partyla (ZSL) also participated in the meeting.

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## CITIZEN-ADMINISTRATION RELATIONSHIP EXAMINED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 10 May 87 p 6

(Article by Wojciech Kubicki: "The Government and the Citizen; Conflicts, Problems, Solutions; Journalists Meet With Minister Z. Rybicki")

[Text] The meeting with Prof Zygmunt Rybicki, secretary of state at the Office of the Council of Ministers, which was dedicated to current problems of state administration, revolved primarily about mutual complaints and misunderstandings in government-citizen relations. As the minister stated in the introduction: civil servants, especially those at the lower or, professionally speaking, primary levels of administration are, for the most part, in a bad frame of mind. They believe the press, radio and TV portray them to the public in a detrimental and often malicious way, which in turn encourages unjustifiably citizens to expect all problems to be resolved by the administration. Many of these expectations are based on the premise that the administration has been given many tasks that by their nature are foreign to its "natural" function, for example, the distribution of goods and materials (tractors, fertilizers, building materials and so on). In addition, the administration was also made responsible for housing and construction management without providing it with the necessary resources. It now turns out that with each need or claim, the citizen goes to the district, city or gmina chief.

On the other hand, as brought up at the meeting, the situation where problems are resolved not through self-government and similar initiatives but by applying pressure on local government organs was not created by the citizens. This results partly from the inconsistency between the law concerning the system of people's councils and other legal acts, especially the budget law. Almost all local income or taxes are paid to the central government from whence money is allocated "from above" to the voivodships, which, in turn, distribute funds to individual gminas and towns. Thus, the power of individual administrative units were separated from local economic activity. At the same time, the reforms instituted over the past several years have introduced an entire financial apparatus having rights as local administrators as well as representative agencies or people's councils. It is no wonder that in such a situation that the activities of the Ministry of Finances in areas that are not subject to local control often breed conflicts. This applies not only at the local levels but also at the central level. A good example is the incident

concerning prices of some dairy products at the beginning of this year that ended with the cautionary talks conducted by the PZPR Central Committee Central Control-Auditing Commission with the directorate of the Ministry of Finances. Attention was also focused on the significant increase in the number of Treasury workers (currently, about 20,000) and the very significant increase in employees in all kinds of control organs (for example, at the Supreme Chamber of Control, which increased 2-5 fold in 6 years).

One must strive to eliminate the causes of the irregularities occurring in administration operations, and not merely be concerned with effects. For example, the system of people's councils should be improved further such that, as emphasized by Minister Rybicki, the laws regulating them would not merely be a manifestation of intentions and a collection of tasks. Above all, the primary and not central administrative organs should be strengthened to stabilize the operating structures and systems to conform to local conditions and not to the centrally generated plans.

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## BRIEFS

RECENT EMIGRATION SUCCESSES NOTED--Jozef Klasa, the general secretary of the "Polonia" Association. The people who left the country since 1968, and even earlier after the October events, now comprise a group of several million, much more educated than their predecessors, they understand actual socialism, are connected to their country by very strong intellectual and family ties and desire to maintain a steady contact with it. I do not know if because of this tremendous intellectual potential outside our borders...the greatest Polish inventions will be taking place outside of Poland. Already, at all the important computer centers devoted to steering economies and science it is easy to communicate in Polish. There is no doubt that we must find a way to reach this new emigration. (GAZETA POMORSKA, No 109, 87) [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 21, 24 May 87] 12411

MONAR PLANS AUGUST CONCERT--Marek Kotanski. It is not true that my actions do not come to fruition, the "Chain of Pure Hearts" did not work out, neither did "Lots of Your Noble Gentlemen," but that action did not work out because you are galoots, you stand aside and look without doing any kind of work. The AIDS action netted a few thousand dollars. Friends! On 21 August I want to organize a 24 hour concert. Bob Dylan will come. My friends will write him the text of the song about the pure hearts movement and this will become our hymn. Other artists from all over the world will come. They will perform for free. I want to make 20 million dollars on this concert so that we can buy dialysis machines for children. I think it could be done at the Slask Stadium. But I don't know if I can have it without paying for it. (TAK I NIE, No 20, 87) [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 21, 24 May 87 p 2] 12411

DIRECTOR TERMS FALSIFICATION 'NORM'--Andrzej Krauze, film director. Art demands a minimum of freedom. One must have the possibility of speaking about certain things in a direct way. This does not mean that we should not use allegory, but this allegory should not be a way of blurring things but of universalizing them. You must be convinced that you are not hiding anything. Meanwhile, look how popular the expression "I will not conceal that" has become. In television and in the press there are many fellows who are proud of the fact that they will conceal anything. It is an accepted fact that the hiding of truth is the norm. This testifies to the collective schizophrenia. (ITD, No 20, 87) [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 21, 24 May 87 p 2] 12411

**HIGH ADDICTION RATE NOTED--**Grzegorz Chmielowski, publicist. Glogow-Lubin-Legnica. For years this has been the addicts' "golden triangle" taking on the properties of the Bermuda Triangle, for there are those who fall into it never to return. Especially in Glogow. Last year 3 persons died from an overdose. The same number died in the beginning months of this year. From there come the blackest news and statistics. "Perhaps it is because we decided to tell the truth about our society?" they ask at the City Administration. Senior sergeant Jerzy Kubiak comprises one-half of the personnel in the drug unit at the RUSW [District Office of Internal Affairs]. At the end of the 1970's we listed 60-70 persons. In the last year it was 195. I think that a lot more people use drugs. How many? Perhaps this number should be multiplied by 4, maybe by 10. [Text] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish 31 May 87 p 2] 12411

**PRON HOSTS SOVIET ACADEMICS--**The RK [National Council] PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] Secretary General Jerzy Swiderski received Soviet scientists who were visiting Poland through the invitation of the weekly ODRODZENIE. He familiarized them with the achievements and goals of the movement, especially the resolutions of the 2nd PRON Congress. The representatives of Soviet science were interested in the directions of further changes in the sphere of democratization of life and the modernization of the Polish economy, and the possibilities of activating various social groups. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 87 p 2] 12411

**WRITERS, BOOKSELLERS REACH AGREEMENT--**At the Literary House in Warsaw an unusual ceremony took place on 19 May. An agreement on cooperation was reached between writers and booksellers. Present at the meeting were representatives of the ZLP [Union of Polish Writers] with President Wojciech Zurkowski, members of the Booksellers Society with President Jan Migdalski, and representatives of the Polish Booksellers Association with President Tadeusz Hussak. The understanding goes back to old, good traditions. After the chaos in the literary marketplace during the 1980's the authors and booksellers took up their common toil of popularizing the faces of modern writers and their books. Especially important is the promotion of new titles in the youth, worker, and village communities. Plans are being made for organizing the tested methods of popularizing books, among them, book fairs, meetings with authors, contests, discussions, "premieres" for new books. Preparations are being made on a large scale for exhibits and book stands at schools, work places, cultural centers, youth clubs, community and village libraries, and at farmers' clubs. There will be no lack of extensive information at the book stores. The new titles and short biographical notes will be placed in the display cases and on shelves. The goal of this understanding is to motivate the booksellers to present the work of the less well known authors, those just coming out, and beginning poets. Present at the gathering was the Deputy-Minister for Culture and Art Kazimierz Molek. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 May 87 p 3] 12411

**JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARY COOPERATION--**Tokyo. The PRL Ambassador to Tokyo Ryszard Frackiewicz paid a visit on Monday to the leader of the Japanese Chamber of Parliament Representatives Kenzaburo Hara. Polish-Japanese relations were the subject of discussion, with special consideration given to cooperation between the parliaments of the two nations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 May 87 p 6] 12411

JORDAN HEALTH CARE COOPERATION--On 16 May in Warsaw the Minister of Health and Social Welfare Miroslaw Cybulko and the Jordanian Minister of Health Zaid Hamzeh signed an agreement for cooperation in the field of health protection and medical science for the years 1987-1992. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 May 87 p 2] 12411

PZPR VISUAL PROPAGANDA MEETING--The realization of the resolutions from the 10th PZPR Congress depends to a large extent on publicizing them in society, partly through visual propaganda. These problems occupied the organizers of visual propaganda at a conference of PZPR provincial committee workers and WP [Polish Army] propaganda cadres. An exhibit of exemplary solutions used in the army was presented at the Capt Wladyslaw Wysocki 1st Praga Mechanized Regiment. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 May 87 p 2] 12411

DEVELOPING NATIONS JOURNALISTS HOSTED--On 15 May at the Journalists' Home in Zaborow near Warsaw, the second post-graduate course for young journalists from developing countries started. The course is organized within the framework of cooperation with UNESCO by the MSZ [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], the RSW [Workers' Cooperative Publishing House] "Prasa, Ksiazka, Ruch," the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, and the Polish Committee for UNESCO Affairs, as Poland's contribution to the international UNESCO program for developing communications. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 May 87 p 2] 12411

NEW CONSTITUTION URGED BY 1991--Prof Zbigniew Radwanski, the leader of the Legislative council attached to the President of the Ministers' Council, had the following to say to Janusz Krawczyk of DZIENNIK ZACHODNI. "We must write a new constitution. In my opinion, as its leader, this is the task of the Legislative Council. When? The Legislative Council believes that a new constitution should be created in 1991. Not only because in that year we will be celebrating the 200th anniversary of the 3rd of May constitution. The present constitution is one of the oldest pieces of legislation among similar documents in the socialistic countries. Some of its formulations do not fit the present social and economic situation of our nation. The constitution is in need of substantial changes, justified by new social needs; the progressive democratization of social life, the principles of the economic reform, perhaps changes in the structure of the government and administrative organs. The new constitution, bypassing the significant changes of a doctrinal nature, should be, from a legislative standpoint, a more judicial document, one that is more precise on the question of law, freedoms, citizens' duties, and one which uses more of the legal standards than slogans and postulates. This will lend itself to strengthening order, whose guardian is the Constitutional Tribunal. For it to perform as it should, that is to check the constitutionality of laws, the constitution must have a legal character." [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 May 87 p 3] 12411

DEMOCRATIZATION PROMOTES REFORM--Agnieszka Ostapowicz from the DZIENNIK LODZKI (8 May) conducted an interview with Professor Jan Mujzel from the PAN [Polish Academy of Science] Institute of Economic Science. This is what he had to say, among other things. "The first thing is the attitude of society toward the reform. For the reform to succeed it needs the support of society. This is a truism, but it is very important, because the implementation of the reform carries along with it procedures that are demanding and difficult for society.

Even the pricing-income decisions done to obtain a balance which is absolutely necessary to place mechanisms in the market. Higher prices and the probable movement of various social groups based on their income levels are painful and unpopular procedures. The system which is to follow, the one that the reform is to create, is to be a solid economic system which would require hard and involved work from the people to release social energy on a mass scale. I fear that it will be very difficult to gain support for such a policy and changes without a bold program of democratization." [Text] [Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 May 87 p 3] 12411

SOCIALISM 'DEMORALIZED' POPULATION--In the DZIENNIK WIECZORNY (8-10 May) Michal Zurowski relates the meeting of Mieczyslaw Rakowski with students from the Bydgoszcz WSP [School of Higher Learning]. "My speech will be somewhat heretical, but socialism has demoralized us somewhat," said Mieczyslaw Rakowski. "Over the years it appeared as a system which took care of us, one that did not require effort, but one that assured a peaceful life on an average level. But now, suddenly, one must work, without waste and with effectiveness. Let us stop falling back on the 'difficult childhood,' the 123 years of captivity, the occupation....In 1981 we wanted to be the most democratic nation on earth, but in Japan, which wanted to recreate here, less is said about democratization, more is thought about how to enter world markets. We cannot allow it to pass that at the doorstep of the 21st century the following should be said about us: 'Yes, they are so brave, they so love freedom, but their economy somehow will not work.' " [Text] Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 15 May 87 p 3] 12411

HUNGARY GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN VISITS--From 10 to 13 May dr Rezso Banyasz, the secretary of state, leader of the Information Office for the WRL [Hungarian People's Republic] Ministers' Council, and press representative of his government visited Poland on invitation from the Polish government press spokesman, Minister Jerzy Urban. He was received by a member of the KC PZPR Political Bureau Jan Glowaczyk, Vice-premier Zdzislaw Sadowski, Vice-minister for Foreign Affairs Jan Kinast, the President of the Radio and Television Committee Janusz Roszkowski. He conducted a conversation with Minister Jerzy Urban. The talk was on the subject of problems of information policy in both countries and the possibilities for further progress in cooperation in this field. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 May 87 p 2] 12411

SLOVENIAN CP GUEST--On 13 May the KC PZPR secretary Henryk Bednarski received the Executive Secretary of the KC of the Union of Slovenian Communists Milosz Prosenc. During a heartfelt conversation each side informed the other about the current problems in the activities of the PZPR and the ZKJ [League of Communists of Yugoslavia]. Present was the SFRJ [Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia] ambassador Branko Puharic. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 May 87 p 2] 12411

FRG PRESS SPOKESMAN VISITS-- Due to an invitation by the Director of the MSZ [Foreign Affairs Ministry] PRL Poland played host to the Director of the Press Department of the MSZ in the FRG, the press spokesman Wolfgang Meyer. At the MSZ they discussed the current problems in cooperation between the two departments and exchanged experiences in publication-information activities. W. Meyer was received by the KC PZPR Director of Propaganda Jozef Barecki,

Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Jan Kinast, and the government press spokesman Jerzy Urban. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 May 87 p 2] 12411

LIBYAN CP OFFICIAL HOSTED--On 13 May the director of the KC PZPR Foreign Department Ernest Kucza conducted an interview with the Assistant Secretary General of the Libyan Communist Party Nadhem A. Samadem. An exchange of views took place on the subject of the situation in the Near East, information was exchanged on the tasks realized by the PZPR and the LPK [Libyan Communist Party], the state and perspectives for the development of cooperation between the two Parties were discussed. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 14 May 87 p 2] 12411

RADIOACTIVE WASTE DISPOSAL PROTEST--[Question from Zofia Krawczyk, chair of the PRON Town-Gmina Council in Miedzyrzecze]: Why is PRON in Miedzyrzecze sometimes called the party of the green ones by your critics? [Ryszard Rowinski]: Fear of being near radioactive waste...has existed since the idea of storing it here came into being. It has nothing to do with the Chernobyl catastrophe. A protest movement has grown up in the people of Miedzyrzecze...Without spending any public money, in a genuine volunteer effort, a great deal of work has been done in connection with rationalizing group emotions and channelling them... Our position is no secret. Everybody knows about it. [Question]: Even in the voivodship capital? [Answer]: Of course. People also listened to us on the Warta River, but this does not mean that all the people there are our allies. Among the activists involved in reality, we awakened a reaction of impatience. Why all the hollering? No decision has been made yet. Nobody knows when construction of the electric power plant in Zarnowiec will be completed. When it is put in motion, even then there will be time to take up the issue, to make the proper decision. They cheer us up. They see in this jealousy for jurisdiction, people not accustomed to taking public opinion into account, calculating that possible sentinels concerned about the dumping of radioactive waste in old Nazi bunkers and casemates will make it possible, by the way, to take care of another issue that is important to the region. Gluing green tags on us does not discredit us in the eyes of society. On the contrary, it opens up the way for us and gives us room in which to do work, in which people can develop and prove themselves. Waging politics only by talking and undertaking resolutions does not take care of anything or change anything. We are starting to understand this. [Text] [From interview with Ryszard Rowinski in NADODRZE 5-18 April] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 18, 2 May 87 p 2] 10790

SUPPORT FOR GORBACHEV QUALIFIED--[Prof Dr Antoni Rajkiewicz, director, Institute of Labor and Social Affairs]: It is characteristic that more and more social groups in Poland are sympathetic to Mr Gorbachev's actions. [Question]: Also with expectations but, for some groups, uneasiness. [Answer]: Yes. With expectations but also with uneasiness. Please remember that various influential groups in our country have used conservative elements in the Soviet Union as a basis. Today they are losing ground. They are defending themselves. After all, every social group leaving the arena always defends itself to the last gasp using various methods. [Text] [From interview with Andrzej W. Malachowski in PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY 26 Apr] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 18, 2 May 87 p 2] 10790

SOVIET CONSUL IN BIALA PODLASKA--(From our own sources)--Genadii B. Podlipniak, Soviet Consul General in Warsaw, visited Biala Podlaska Voivodship yesterday. During the meeting with the political-administrative leadership of the voivodship, including Jozef Oleksy, first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, and Stanislaw Rapa, governor of Biala Podlaska Voivodship, Biala Podlaska's socioeconomic problems were discussed. Then the consul visited a voivodship hospital and met with hospital management. He saw the stables at Janow Podlaski and visited with TOPR activists and workers at the Elremet Invalids Cooperative in Biala Podlaska. The Soviet consul general attended a burial ceremony in which the ashes of a Soviet soldier who fell during the last war in Slawacinek Nowy near Biala Podlaska were laid to rest. The nature of the ceremony was elevated, because it was held in keeping with the military ceremonial manual. The consul placed a wreath of flowers on the soldier's tomb. [Text] [Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 9 Apr 87 p 2] 10790

SOCIALIST CULTURE CELEBRATED--(From our own sources)--Presentations from spring meetings with socialist culture are going on. Yesterdays scientists, writers, and journalists held meetings with school children and adults in Sandomierz, Tarnobrzeg, and Stalowa Wola. Teachers, school principals, and inspectors of education and moral training came together at the Sandomierz palace for a popular scientific session devoted to the political culture of teachers. The opening address was delivered by Prof Dr hab Wladyslaw Markiewicz, vice chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences. The following people then took the floor: Dr Wiktor Osajda of the Institute for Court Law Research, Dr Ryszard Banajski, and Dr Jan Szarycz. Political culture, the culture of social involvement in issues of one's own group, region, community, and country, develop slowly but take on increasing significance. The spring meetings which can be of interest to the broadest rank and file residents of Tarnobrzeg Voivodship through the various presentations are a method of education in the realm of sociopolitical culture and can release citizens' initiative to make them active. [Text] [Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 8 Apr 87 p 1] 10790

SOLIDARITY MISTAKES NOTED--The fact that Solidarity made mistakes, particularly during the last part of its activity, is obvious to me, and I have said this more than once, but at the same time, I emphasize -- please say so clearly in the text -- that every reasonable person is against throwing out the baby with the bath water, which unfortunately is what happened afterwards. [Text] [By Wladyslaw Sila-Nowicki, attorney, member of the Consultation Council] [Warsaw PRZEGLAD TYGODNIOWY in Polish No 10, 8 Mar 87 p 2] [Taken from WPROST No 9 1987] 10790

FRENCH CENTER IN POZNAN--On 12 May, a new center of the Polish Committee on Cooperation With the Alliance Francaise was opened at Adam Mickiewicz University. Facilities in 18th Century landmark buildings in Poznan were put at the disposal of the Alliance Francaise. As Prof Jacek Fisiak, rector of Mickiewicz University emphasized, the inauguration of this facility testifies to many centuries of cultural and historical tradition that links the two countries. French Ambassador Claude Harel emphasized that the Alliance Francaise center being opened in Poznan is the eighth in Poland. He said that this was testimony to the mutual needs to strengthen cultural ties between France and Poland. Prof Fisiak was decorated with a medal awarded by the Paris Center of the Alliance Francaise. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 May p 2] 10790

INTERNATIONAL LAWYERS IN WARSAW--A delegation of the executive committee of the International Lawyers Association (ILA), led by its chairman, C. J. Olmstead (USA), was in Warsaw 3-6 May. The purpose of the visit was to discuss with Polish leaders questions related to sponsoring the organization's 63rd world congress, which will be held in Warsaw in August of next year. Among those receiving the delegation were Minister of Foreign Affairs M. Orzechowski, Minister of Justice Lech Domeracki, and Chairman of the Polish Academy of Sciences Jan Kostrewski. [Text] (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 May 87 p 2) 10790

PZPR LECTURERS DISCUSS REFORM--A meeting between the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Franciszek Kubiszek, met with lecturers of the Central Committee and the voivodship committees of the party in the PZPR Central Committee building on 5 May. The theses on the second stage of the economic reform were the subject of the meeting, which was conducted by Janusz Janicki, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee's Propaganda Department. [Text] (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 May 87 p 2) 10790

PZPR LAWYERS GROUP MEETS--A meeting of the lawyers group of the PZPR Central Committee's Department of Science, Education, and Scientific-Technical Progress was held on 5 May. Ushering in the next term of activity, they discussed the conditions for popularizing socialist goals, principles, and values in the process of reforming the economy and renewing life in society. There was also a discussion of the group's tasks and functions for the next few years. The meeting was chaired by Prof Jan Szreniawski, of the Marie Curie Skłodowska University in Lublin. [Text] (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 May 87 p 2) 10790

PZPR POLITICAL SCIENTISTS MEETING--The Party Group of Political Science of the PZPR Central Committee's Department of Science, Education, and Scientific-Technical Progress discussed problems on the level of the Polish society's awareness and factors conditioning the bolstering of socialist values and goals in the processes of economic reconstruction and the reformation of sociopolitical life, on 5 May. Later there was a discussion of the prospects for the development of political science centers in Katowice, Lublin, Łódź, and Poznań. The meeting was chaired by Prof Bronisław Pasierb. [Text] (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 6 May 87 p 2) 10790

FRG FOREIGN AFFAIRS TALKS--On 29-30 April political consultations were held in Warsaw between the foreign affairs ministries of Poland and the FRG. The talks were conducted by Tadeusz Olechowski, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Hermann von Richthofen, political director at the FRG Ministry of Foreign Affairs. On 30 April Minister von Richthofen was received by Marian Orzechowski, minister of foreign affairs. He also met with Ernest Kucza, head of the Foreign Department of the PZPR Central Committee. [Text] (Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 May 87 p 5) 10790

OPZZ ECONOMICS ADVISORS CONFER--On 30 April, at the initiative of Chairman Alfred Miodowicz, a meeting was held between the OPZZ leadership and a group of prominent scholars and representatives of economic policy. In the course of the meeting, views were exchanged on major social and economic problems of our reality. There was emphasis on the uneasiness in broad circles of society

and the scientific world over the negative phenomena of economic life, particularly bureaucratic barriers in utilizing many instances of social initiative aimed at improving life in society and upgrading the mechanisms of the national economy. In this context many proposals were made concerning hypotheses on the second stage of the economic reform, and the lack of an operating concept of the problems presented was emphasized in particular. Much attention was devoted to labor law issues in the aspect of projected changes. The need for further development of union initiatives on housing construction and environmental protection was pointed out, along with the need for the resurrected trade union movement to make greater use of scholarship and the research possibilities and qualifications of the scientific community. The trade union movement's most urgent needs in this realm were emphasized. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 May 87 p 5] 10790

AMBASSADOR TO SUDAN RECEIVED--Cairo (PAP)--During his stay in Khartoum, Polish Ambassador to the Sudan Tadeusz Zareba was received by Premier Sadik el Mahdie and by Idris el Ban, member of the Council of Supreme Power. He also visited Minister of Foreign Affairs Sharif el Hindi. During the talks, international and regional problems were discussed along with the possibilities for developing mutual relations. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 May 87 p 5] 10790

CUBAN MILITARY AWARDS GIVEN--On the 30th anniversary of the creation of the Cuban Revolutionary Army, on 30 April, Cuban Ambassador Narciso Martin Mora Diaz presented "Medals for the 30th Anniversary of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba" to members of the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense, a group of generals and officers of the people's Polish army, in recognition of the contribution to the expansion and bolstering of friendship and brotherhood at arms between our peoples and armies. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 May 87 p 5] 10790

BIELORUSSIAN CC DELEGATION VISITS--Central Committee Secretary Nikolai Dementei headed a delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bielorussia 27-30 April. The guests were familiarized with the operations of cooperative and state farms and with plants of the food and agriculture industry in Opole, Torun, Skieriewice, Tarnow, and Warsaw Voivodships. The members of the delegation, who are related to agriculture by profession, were largely interested in organizational and economic solutions used in our food economy to bring about a rise in production and improved effectiveness at all stages of food production. On Thursday, the delegation was received by Zbigniew Michalek, deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. He told the guests about the major purposes and tasks of agricultural policy formulated at the Tenth Party Congress and about past results in carrying it out, and he assured full support for initiatives aimed at the further tightening of cooperation near the border between agricultural enterprises in the two countries. Kazimierz Grzesiak, head of the PZPR Central Committee's Agriculture Department, attended the meeting. Soviet Ambassador Vladimir Borivikov was present. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 May 87 p 5] 10790

**GDR LEGAL EXPERT VISITS**--On 30 April, Marshall of the Sejm Roman Malinowski received in Poland, Prof Wolfgang Weichelt, chairman of the constitutional commission of the GDR People's Chamber and director of the Institute for the Theory of State and Law, GDR Academy of Sciences. Marshall Malinowski told his guest about the main directions of legislative work of the Sejm in the process of the reform and reconstruction of socialist democracy in Poland. Prof Adam Lopatka, director of the Institute of State and Law, Polish Academy of Sciences, took part in the talks. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 May 87 p 5] 10790

**PZPR EDUCATION GROUP IN GDR**--Berlin (PAP)--Boguslaw Kedzia headed a consultation group of the PZPR Central Committee's Department of Science, Education, and Technical Progress, which just ended a 2-day visit to the GDR. The implementation of mutual provisions concerning interparty cooperation in the area of higher education was reviewed, and a program for further cooperation in this area was discussed. The significance of a mutual exchange of experience to the further development of this cooperation was pointed out. These problems were also the subject of talks between Boguslaw Kedzia and members of the NSPJ Central Committee, Central Committee department heads Hannes Hoeernig and Hermann Poeschel, and GDR Minister of Higher and Vocational Education Hans-Joachim Boehme. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 May 87 p 5] 10790

**FRENCH CP CONTACTS**--Paris (PAP)--On 27-30 April, Wladyslaw Loranc, head of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee, was in Paris to hold talks with the leadership of the French Communist Party, the Maurice Thorez Institute for Marxist Studies, and the directors of the publication MESSIDOR. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 May 87 p 5] 10790

**RAKOWSKI IN CZESTOCHOWA**--On Thursday, Sejm Deputy Marshall Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski met with the academic community in Czestochowa to discuss major socioeconomic problems of Poland during the last half of the 1980's. Rakowski also met with the leadership of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Czestochowa. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2-3 May 87 p 5] 10790

**JORDAN HEALTH MINISTRY CONTACTS**--On 12 May, Deputy Premier Jozef Kozioł received Dr Zaid Hamezeh, Minister of Health of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, who is paying an official visit to Poland. During the meeting, attended by Minister of Health and Social Welfare Miroslaw Cybulko, there was a discussion of past Polish-Jordanian contacts, especially those related to cooperation in the area of health. Satisfaction was expressed with the possibilities for expanding them through the signing of a ministry plan between Poland and Jordan for cooperation in the realm of public health and medical science over the next few years. Minister Hamezeh conveyed condolences over the LOT airliner catastrophe. [Text] [Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 May 87 p 2] 10790

**ROMANIAN PRESS AGENCY AGREEMENT**--At the invitation of the Polish Press Agency, Alexandru Ionescu, director general of the Agerpress Romanian Press Agency, arrived in our country to sign a new agreement with the PAP chairman and

editor in chief concerning cooperation and exchange of information between the two agencies. The head of the Romanian agency, who was accompanied by Romanian Ambassador Ion Tesu, was received by Jan Glowczyk, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. Director Ionescu also met with government spokesman Jerzy Urban and saw the Interpres press center. During his tour of the country he visited Krakow, where he talked to Voivodship Committee secretary Jan Czepiel and saw the Nazi concentration camp at Ossiecin. [Text] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9-10 May 87 p 2] 10790

CSO: 2600/649

## NATIONAL IDENTITY OF MACEDONIAN MUSLIMS DISCUSSED

Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 10 May 87 p 3

[Article by N. Spahiu: "Let Us Distinguish Between Nationality and Religion"]

[Text] On the occasion of the celebration of the victory over fascism, 9 May, the Debar District committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, the district conference of the Socialist Association of Working People of Macedonia, and the Republic Society responsible for sponsoring cultural and scientific activities about Macedonian Moslems organized yesterday at the "Moshe Pijade" high school in Zhupe a roundtable discussion, which dealt with several issues of interest for the national affirmation of Macedonian Moslems in this district. Rexho Muslioski, the secretary of the Presidency of Debar district committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, delivered the introductory speech.

In the long discussion, in which more than 20 people participated, it was emphasized there is still a confused belief on the part of some inhabitants of this region that the process of national affirmation of Macedonian Moslems will allegedly lead to changing their religion. In most cases such theories are incited by the strategy of hostile forces, which want to hinder the process of the revival, national affirmation, emancipation and the national identity of Islamized Macedonians in this region. Such tendencies are, in most cases, the result of the activity of hostile forces, particularly of those acting from positions of Albanian and Turkish nationalism and separatism, conservatism, dogmatism, traditionalism, etc. It was emphasized that, for the continuation of the most rapid emancipation and development of Macedonian Moslems in the region of Zhupe, it is necessary that their past history be included as a permanent subject in this as well as in other schools. At the roundtable it was also pointed out that until now the history and origins of Macedonian Moslems were not included in any school textbook and it is necessary that in the future the students and teachers be better acquainted with these subjects.

In connection with the existing shortcomings in this field, it was noted that with the passing of time the major objectives of the Macedonian Moslems' national movement are becoming clearer and that they are not directed against any nation or nationality in our country, but that the aim is only the most rapid national and social progress of Islamized Macedonians. In conclusion, it was emphasized the activists in Debar District are playing an important role in the development of this movement not only in Debar District but also in other regions of the republic. The Macedonian people and members of the Albanian and Turkish nationalities are making efforts to create the necessary social, political, moral and material conditions for the development of this process.

## INCREASE IN NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 10 May 87 p 20

[Article by L. Imam: "Religious Instruction on the Increase"]

[Text] According to official statistics in Skopje and the surrounding areas 1,549 pupils attend religious instruction, of which 1,383 are Albanians, 49 Turks, and 117 Moslems. If we analyze the problem from a social perspective it comes out that the majority of these pupils come from families in which parents have had limited education; more precisely, 1,085 pupils are children of workers, 440 are children of farmers and 24 are children of white-collar workers. If we compare the number of pupils now attending religious instruction with the past it is evident the number is increasing; for example, compared with 1983, the number has increased 50 percent. This was confirmed at a recent meeting of the city's Committee on Education, Science, Culture and Physical Education, which discussed the issue of pupils under 15 years old attending religious instruction.

In the discussion regarding this issue, concern was expressed about the fact that in some environments religious instruction is being transformed into religious education, while in other environments it is developing outside the control of religious societies and in violation of existing laws, which raises the possibility of the spread of unacceptable views. Religious instruction, it was emphasized at the meeting, negatively influences youths' personalities and confronts them with the dilemma of whether to believe their teachers or religious instructors. Some of the speakers said that in some environments religious instruction was so voluminous that it was hindering the pupils in their elementary education.

During the debate, members of the committee said it is necessary to intensify the activity against abuses and violations evident in religious instruction, noting at the same time that this activity will not be directed against religious instruction, which is guaranteed by law, but against violations of the law, particularly when it is known that parents of some of the pupils attending religious schools are members of the League of Communists. It was also emphasized that teachers in elementary schools should devote greater attention to organizing extracurricular activities for their pupils.

After a lively debate, the committee approved a series of measures and conclusions; it was announced that this issue will also be discussed by the

executive councils and assemblies of Skopje and surrounding regions and by socio-political organizations and local organs. It was decided that initiatives should be taken to change and supplement existing laws on the juridical position of religious communities in order to formalize institutions that will control and supervise religious instruction. It was especially emphasized that religious instruction should be halted for pupils under the age of 15. It was also decided to halt religious instruction by individuals who have no official permission for such activities and who act in violation of the program for religious instruction of Islamic religious communities or of other religious communities.

9976/12859  
CSO: 2100/54

## COMMENTARY CONTRASTS 'FOG CONTRAPTIONS,' EVERYDAY LIFE

Belgrade KNJIZEVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian 1 Apr 87 p 2

[Unsigned article: "Atmosphere"]

[Text] For a long time now, there has not been such a combative atmosphere in the collective manifestations of our social and political life. Likewise, for a long time dejection, discouragement, and even hopelessness have dominated the individual's perception of the harshness of everyday living and economic conditions. Admittedly, those who are appointed to take care of these conditions do not seem to be worrying much about them. The level of public mobilization is very high, while the quality of life is more and more seriously falling toward the lower limit of tolerability.

It is as though we live two parallel lives that are completely independent from one another. It could also be said that somebody seems to be stubbornly trying to keep these two currents not only independent of each other but also completely incompatible, as though someone were manipulating a "fog contraption" to keep the two sides of the same life physically separate.

On one side of life, "enemies," "hostile platforms," "unacceptable antisocialist positions," and "anti-self-management ideas" abound; there is opposition to "the threats from the bourgeois right," and the "offensive by right-wing forces"; we express "determination to defend the system by all available means," "to stop financing enemies," "to remove the enemies from the platform"; we express resolve (although we lack jurisdiction) "to hold people criminally accountable," and "to verify what the prosecutors' offices are doing"; it is essential "for us to "stop the ravages of the enemy forces" and thus "to stop, remove, ELIMINATE, DESTROY..." Fine.

On the other side of life, an individual, worried and isolated, is faced with inadequate and expensive education, with unemployment after education, with a shortage of housing (and if he gets an apartment with a loan, what awaits him is a "reevaluation" of the loan that will lead him directly to a 19th-century English "debtors' prison"); he is faced with a network of regulations that make his work--whether he works in some OOUR (organization of associated labor) or is a "private businessman"--a real feat (while another "network" of regulations proves insufficient to protect the bare lives, for example, of his relatives in Kosovo--in both cases the attitude toward the legal regulations

is manifested as an attitude against life); an individual is faced with "interventionist measures," and is daily humiliated by the arrogance of various forms of social monopoly (SIZ's [self-managing interest communities]), and is humiliated before the "groups" that charge him for everyday needs (water, electricity, housing), and in short, life's adversities harass him on all sides...

Naturally, the individual is angry. He must not, however, be angry at those who really threaten him. His anger has to be guided. Since collective enemies are "produced" and "seen" in the collective events of social and political life, the "target" of the individual's anger has to be rendered visible, and thus "grouplets" and "individuals" appear (for this reason, for example, in order to raise the standard of living, it is very important to remove Vojislav Seselj from the podium of an academic sociological meeting in Zagreb--as soon as he is prevented from speaking, regardless of what he says and regardless of the fact that he has qualified opponents, it will immediately be easier for "working people and citizens" to pay their winter electricity bills).

As the individual's living conditions become worse, public life becomes more and more intensive, while the other, quite naturally, becomes more and more depressing. Furthermore, the "fog contraption," like a perpetuum mobile, operates continuously--it operates on behalf of social peace, since if the essential link between the two aspects of life is "discovered," only a steel wall (or an iron broom) or additional "fog contraptions" can help.

In the first instance--the "steel wall" (or "iron broom")--involves the conservative, repressive forces that have an absolute belief that the "fog contraption" is a social necessity, or cynics in power who do not shrink from maintaining the "fog" by "steely" methods. In the second instance, the "additional fog contraptions" involve a sort of social mimicry that is characteristic of all totalitarian societies.

Let us take the Youth Relay Race as an example. Some Slovene youth spoke out against that ritual, feeling that time had overtaken it, that it no longer had any purpose, that the expense of the event was inconsistent with the goals of stabilization, and that the funds for that event would be better used to create jobs for young unemployed professionals... These were rational reasons, defensible in economic terms. The self-management rights and views of Slovene youth, however, were met by a "non-youth" iron fist that supported the "fog contraption," and that reaction elicited "additional fog contraptions." Instead of pointing out the attitude of Slovene youth and the justifiable reasons leading the youth organization of that republic to offer tenacious resistance to the usual ritual, the highest official of the Slovene youth organization began to seek an alibi in his difficulties with the "Serbo-Croatian language." No linguistic difficulties would have hindered him from saying that he was against the Youth Relay Race (naturally, in the name of the organization that he represented), if "steely circumstances" had not forced him to resort to the artifice of "additional fog contraptions."

The issue of organizing the Youth Relay Race should have been decided by all of the young people of Yugoslavia. (We saw one of the best artistic views of

the "relay race drama" in the Kusturica film "Father Is Away on Official Business": the boy Malik gets complete amnesia upon handing over the "local" baton, although he can recite the assigned text "by heart" both before and after the ceremony. His whole family's devastation, and the child's personal devastation, are sacrificed to a ritual whose transience, in its false grandeur, is supposed to overshadow his everyday life. His agony in front of the local officials and his stuttering in the face of the stereotyped nature of the ceremonies, which were organized according to the same model in all opstinas throughout Yugoslavia, heighten his individuality with respect to the mass ritual of devotion to the leader and the party. There is no reason today for us to produce Maliks and their stiffness and stammers.) But if this is a question for all young people in Yugoslavia, then we should be able to hear them. So far, we have only heard the voices hidden behind the "fog contraption." In the near future, the youth relay races will not exist in that form, if those to whom it belongs are the ones to decide on it. The rational and justifiable requests to have the youth holiday celebrated in young people's own way will prevail. Nevertheless, this does not exhaust or empty that aspect of life which is protected by the "fog contraption." Since the later is opposed to life, its fate is to "battle until victory." Elsewhere, the concerned, worried, and isolated individual is determined to pull himself out of that life. His salvation would be a real victory for life. The question remains: will that be done (or made possible) if we "hold criminally accountable" those who have their own ideas about emerging from the crisis, if we "activate the prosecutors' offices" for crimes of thought and speech, if we "eliminate and destroy" a contrived enemy, and if we force Slovene and other Yugoslav youth to run around their homeland with a piece of iron, wood, or glass in their hands?

9909  
CSO: 2800/203

## COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY CIVIL DEFENSE TRAINING HIGHLIGHTED

East Berlin SCHUETZEN UND HELFEN in German No 1, 1987 (signed to press 13 Nov 86) p 13

[Article by Dr Horst Boehme and Dr Eberhard Drechsel: "Hazard Protection--an Indispensable Task of Instruction and Research"]

[Text] Occupation-specific civil defense training (BZVA) in the universities and professional schools, as well as in the engineering and specialized colleges (in particular those dealing with technical and economic fields) is, as is well known, a basic component of the students' education and training. It is carried out according to basic curricula for the respective major fields of study and primarily serves to enable the students, as future leaders in government and economy, to recognize necessary civil defense tasks and to carry them out under all circumstances.

At the center of the BZVA basic curricula stand, above all else, the occupation-specific tasks and measures for preventive protection against accident and catastrophe, matters that are treated differently in the various fields of study.

In designing an effective training process, the following three basic assumptions are, in our experience, of fundamental importance:

First, preventive protection from damage and catastrophe is of growing importance in our times, because the tasks supporting overall intensification of production and the economic strengthening of the GDR, which were decided upon at the Eleventh SED Party Conference, entail greater challenges. Such protection therefore represents an important substantive responsibility of practice-oriented instruction. Training oriented to the requirements of real economic activity cannot, however, take for granted a production process that always goes forward without disturbance or under ideal conditions. Training must grasp and present this process in all of its tendency toward concrete and complex inner contradictions.

Second, BZVA should always be conceived and communicated in its unique character as a component part implicit in the subject matter of each field of instruction. As a consequence, it is to be organically integrated into the instructional process. This requires, in particular, that the occupation-specific tasks, measures and methods, to be derived from the specifically

civil defense-related requirements of the field of study, be systematically conceived of along scientific lines and included in the students' training.

Third, the decisive point of departure for successful BZVA resides in the planned tasks of economic life, and this in two senses: On the one hand, protective protection against accident and catastrophe is directly aimed at a stable execution of the plan, from which the concrete tasks for the fields and branches of the economy, and thus for training, are in the first instance derived. On the other hand, the concrete measures of preventive protection against accident and catastrophe are themselves component parts of the planned tasks, as means for guaranteeing a stable and secure flow of production under all conditions. In this connection, the Science and Technology Plan gains preeminent significance, since the issue is in fact that of applying the new key technologies while maintaining a high degree of continuity of production.

The following insights toward further effective work with the existing BZVA basic curricula in the various major fields of study are derived from experience in our facilities:

It is appropriate to promote ideological understanding among administrators and professional- and technical-school instructors to the effect that BZVA belongs unconditionally to the subject matter of the scientific fields. This requires continuous firm governmental guidance and monitoring of instructional activity, under the leadership of party organizations. In this connection, it must be pointed out again and again that occupation-specific problems of protection against accident and catastrophe, which are influenced by the evolution of the inputs to production and by the exploitation of leading edge technologies, must be thought through and solved afresh on a continuing basis. In doing this, the issues that arise can often be posed and resolved only from the standpoint of the respective scientific field.

The basic curricula represent the obligatory basis for the content of instructional tasks. They point out for each instructional facility the orientation for its own specific taskings. Their execution requires deep and independent conceptual insights into the tasks on the part of each instructional organization. Only thus can these tasks ultimately be correctly integrated, in accordance with the training specifications, into the plans for scheduling of material within the individual major specialties. Successful BZVA can only be carried out on the basis of appropriate research by the respective scientific fields. Findings derived from accidents and disruptions that have taken place are thereby to be generalized and communicated. The necessity for cooperation with the health and safety, fire, and environmental protection instructional areas is obvious. In this, the main objective is to systematically investigate, work up, and utilize the tasks and problems that arise for production and supply processes, in connection with specific criteria such as continuity of operations or environmental conditions, out of the specific subject matter of the various fields of science.

Occupation-specific civil defense training that is implicit in the material should help to deepen the realization that following laws and regulations, and

discipline, order and cleanliness in the production process, are among the most effective and also the cheapest measures for protection against accident and catastrophe.

In general, the conclusion holds good that, if the BZVA theme is logically integrated into the instructional subject matter of the specialized fields and is competently presented, the students actively commit themselves to civil defense.

13070/13046  
CSO: 2300/331

**BIOLOGICAL PEST CONTROL DEVELOPED IN SLUSOVICE DISCUSSED**

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 19, 1987 p 17

[Article by Zdenek Hoffmann: "Mites in the Service of Men"]

[Text] Human life always was, is and will be dependent on nature and its control. It applies particularly to food production. The ever growing food consumption and the intensification of agricultural production forces people to increased interference with nature. While such interference boosts the yield of products and consequently also their production, it has, nevertheless, certain negative consequences for nature itself and the health quality of the food, influenced particularly by the increased use of chemicals. The latest research shows however, that these can be in certain cases reduced and replaced by biological products harmless to nature.

In the last few years, we are witnessing a particularly impressive expansion in plant protection against pests. Chemical pesticides are being replaced by biological ones, which means by natural enemies of insects damaging plants and food.

In October 1984, the CPCZ CC emphasized at its meeting the necessity of an increased application of biological methods in pest control. "The use of chemicals in food production has its ecologically tolerable limits. We are therefore calling the attention of scientists, technicians and agricultural workers to a broader and more effective exploitation of biological methods."

**The Practice Proceeds From Necessity**

This appeal met with response at research institutes, JZDs [unified agricultural cooperative] and other agricultural and industrial enterprises. The JZD "Peace" in Chelcice, for instance, considerably increased the production of rapacious mites (Acari), wheat (Hessian) flies and patogenous fungi, in order to protect greenhouses against dangerous parasites like hop weevils and greenhouse moths. At present, half of the greenhouses in the CSR are thus protected and it is estimated that by the end of the current Five-year Plan the protection of the entire greenhouses' surface will be ensured. Once this technology will be mastered, chemical interference can be lowered by 80 percent or limited to certain cases and even stopped

completely. In the past three years, partial biological protection of orchards and vineyards against hop-weevils by using the *Typhlofromus pyri acarus* has been carried out. After a gradual build-up of the production capacities, two years hence biological means should be able to protect adequately 550 hectares of surfaces.

The most important producer of biological products in our country has been for several years the JZD Agroconcern Slusovice. It is at present concluding the construction of an operation which will produce more than 200 metric tons of biopesticides on the base of the microorganism *Bacillus thuringensis*. The first one of them--Bathurin 82--is used to destroy the caterpillars of white cabbage butterflies, gipsy moths, torticids, fruit worms, tiger moths and loopers (geometers) which attack vegetables, fruit orchards, forests, forage crops and stored fodder. The second product--Moskitur--is effective in combatting the larvae of gnats and mosquitos.

Besides these two well-known and already traditional manufacturers, the production of biological pest control products was developed in other agricultural enterprises as well. On the base of the fungus *Beauveria bassiana*, the JZD "Concord" Vladislav is manufacturing a pesticide called Bovorosil, applied to protect empty storage rooms against specific pests. The JZD "Future" in Blatnice is preparing the production of Boverol, which will be used to combat certain pests of field cultures, and is particularly effective against larvae of the Colorado beetle. In this cooperative, they are studying the possibility of using parasitic small wasps of the *Trichogramma* family to liquidate the eggs of corn worms. The Vsenory laboratory of the Agricultural Supplies and Purchase Enterprise Praha is ensuring the production and distribution of rapacious mites *Cheyletis eruditis*, used against pests damaging stored grain and seeds, causing thus enormous losses to our society. Both wholesale and retail customers are greatly interested in Lafarex, a most effective product against the cumbersome "Pharao Ant," which makes life miserable in many of our housing developments.

A novelty--the production will be started in Slusovice this year--is Polygandron, developed by the Research Institute of Plant Production in Prague, a preparation against the originators of sugar beet mildew. This biological pesticide with the component of fungus *Pithium oligandron*, will be used for preventive care of seeds. It will ensure the protection of sugar beet seedlings against fungi causing the upper mention mildew. It should replace the presently used chemical mordants, the residue of which remains in the soil and has negative influence on the environment.

#### Waylaid Males

To protect forests against pine bark-boring beetles (*Bostrychus*), another product was developed. It is the sexual feromon Etokap, which attracts the pine borer's males to adhesive tapes treated with it. A similar product in the Deltastop group proved effective against apple torticids and it is planned to apply it gradually as a protection of 25,000 hectares of orchards and

approximately the same surface of gardens. The use of feromon pesticides against certain pests of vineyards, plums, apricot and peach trees is contemplated as well.

The Research Institute of Food Industry in Prague became the most important center for research and application of feromons. In collaboration with the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, the scientists of this institute developed not only a frequently used feromon Ferokap, but they are the authors of another original Czechoslovak feromon method as well; it is effective against all kinds of roaches, mainly in storage rooms, health institutions, communal buildings and elsewhere.

#### Advantages and Disadvantages

The exploitation of biopesticides in the struggle against injurious insects is not, however, without problems, in spite of their numerous advantages. Among the latter belong a definite improvement of the environment and savings of energy and other irreplaceable natural resources, necessary for the production of chemical pesticides. The use of biopesticides makes us save fuel as well. Their definite advantage is that they remain in the environment as long as there are pests there. Furthermore, they are not toxic to related and otherwise useful organisms, contrary to most of the chemical pesticides. They can be applied during the entire period of vegetation as they are harmless for people and other vertebrates.

Their effectiveness is, indeed, the main reason for the limitation of their use. While chemical pesticides, when properly applied, have an immediate and almost full effect, the mites, parasites, fungi and microbes "interfere" with some delay (before reproducing themselves in the given environment) and their effectiveness is mostly between 30 and 90 percent. Furthermore, climatic conditions influence their effectiveness as well. Their greatest impact therefore may be found in closed areas such as greenhouses or storage rooms, where they can exist in stable conditions.

But these disadvantages are being solved as well. We have to pay tribute for this to our scientists and researchers. While applying Bathurin to forest pests, they achieved only 36 to 60 percent effective results and were obviously not satisfied with them. Introducing and applying a new process, they have achieved an improvement of up to 99 percent with only half of the dose of Bathurin.

Biological protection is being constantly increased. The scientists and researchers are discovering new products, improving more efficient streaks of organisms; the mass industrial production of biopesticides has been increased. Thus, they are already irreplaceable in the system of integrated plant protection in our agriculture. Their further and broader application in agricultural enterprises is, of course, most urgent.

12707  
CSO: 2400/340

**SEJM COMMISSION ASSESSES SELF-MANAGEMENT ACTIVITY**

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 22, 31 May 87 pp 1,4

[Article by Irena Dryll: "Self-Management Does Not Want To Be the Loser"]

[Text] What is the status of self-management at the threshold of the second stage of reform? It is not possible to answer this question with good, bad or in-between, because there is no uniform criterion by which to measure it, and there will probably be none, if only for the reason that everyone who talks about it has something else in mind.

On the other hand, there are a number of different, often contradictory, opinions and assessments circulating on the subject of the activeness of self-management, its ability to exert an effect on the situation in an enterprise and the success of reform, its place in the factory management and the establishment of the self-management--parent organ relationship. Some people speak about a growth in activeness and a strengthening of the position of the self-management, others say that it has become "swollen" and is losing its breath, still others describe the situation as the "finishing-off the self-management," illustrating this extreme opinion by a judgmental pronouncement in some matters and by the "Theses," and especially the version being examined by the Commission for Economic Reform (to which I shall return later).

**Controversy and Accolades**

The problem of self-management activeness appeared--somewhat opportunely--at the last two meetings of the Sejm Commission on Self-Management Affairs. At the first meeting (9 April 1987), the collaboration of the ministries of construction and chemical and light industry with the self-management organs in the enterprises concentrated in these ministries, and the execution of the motions passed at the Sixth National Conference of Workforce Self-Management Representatives, was discussed. At the second meeting (13 May 1987), the cooperation of the workers' self-management with the local organs of state administration and the voivodship people's councils was discussed.

In both cases, outside guests took part: In the April meeting, the chairmen of the workers' councils and the members of the motions committee appointed at the Sixth Conference, and at the May meeting, the chairmen of several commissions for self-management affairs functioning in the people's councils.

Thanks to this, the discussion became very lively, inasmuch as the deputy's assessment was supported by the self-management's viewpoint.

But let us return to the question of activeness. In the chemical and light industry--and this is a huge industry made up of 783 enterprises employing 927,600 workers, self-management functions almost everywhere. Only in three small enterprises are there no workers' councils. It is the same in the construction industry: Out of 1,700 construction and assembly enterprises, only two do not have workers' councils. But let us stay with the "light" giant. Judging from the ministry's reports during last year's elections campaign for self-management organs, voting attendance was slightly lower, and as a result, in some enterprises elections were repeated two and even three times. There were also fewer candidates for council members or district board delegates, and in some districts not all positions were filled..

Referring to this part of the report, deputy Stanislaw Derda (quoting from Sejm Press Bulletin No 370), remarked: It appears that people do not want to hold office and avoid active participation in self-management work.

Miroslaw Jedrzejczak, deputy minister of chemical and light industry, explained: We received reports from everywhere that the activeness of workers' councils is dropping (...). It was indicated most frequently that public activity takes up too much time and does not bring either benefits or satisfaction.

Nevertheless, the report said, taking all of the enterprises as a whole, there are plants, and they make up the largest group, in which workers' councils are demonstrating "...greater social activeness, initiative, and decisive involvement in current and future problems." Those councils are named which contributed to the application of new technologies or an increase in essential anti-import production (including the council of the POLICE Chemical Plants in Szczecin, Lecha (in Poznan), Anilana (in Lodz), the Sierzan Wool Industry Association in Bialystok), and also those which demonstrate great activeness in connection with plant modernization and expansion (e.g., the council in the Marchlewski Cotton Industry Association in Lodz), and those which effectively oversee the economic and social-welfare areas of the enterprise (e.g., the council in the CHEMITEK-WISTOM Works in Tomaszow Mazowiecki). In addition to the very active ones, a large number of councils limit their activities to their own specialties, without getting involved in all of the enterprise's matters. The third group are the councils which "...periodically, once a quarter, hold meetings at the behest of the administration."

The assessment of the activeness of the councils, which was replete with some accurate observations, was accompanied by an assessment of the activists and their stances--a very controversial evaluation, I think. "There are also activists in some workers' councils who in taking on duties aim to evoke sensation, cheap popularity, and torpedo the administration's initiatives simply in order to be on the opposite side." The report also speaks of "eliminating" a few activists "with extreme attitudes" or "extreme opinions," (which, as the deputy minister explained, means that they were not elected).

I mention this here without going into the merits of the case because this method of presenting a complex problem was not supported by some deputies or by self-management activists. "No extreme generalizations should be made, nor should the evaluations be emotional," said deputy Alfred Wawrzyniak.

"What good are such evaluations as 'extreme attitude' or 'cheap popularity'? Are we to interpret this as another attack on self-management and an attempt to undermine its position?" asked Eugeniusz Cieslicki, council chairman in SPOMASZ enterprise in Pleszew. The council chairman from STILON (in Gorzow), Antoni Pieprzyk, said: "The evaluations of the workers' councils submitted by our ministry are superficial and in large measure untrue. If everything is not going well and self-management is not doing what it should, then the fault is usually on both sides, the council as well as the factory management." However, the chairman of the council from the Small Automobile Factory in Bielsko Biala, Fryderyk Konior, questioned a certain practice, which was obvious in the above example: "Unfortunately, the assessment of self-management organs in political terms is becoming widespread. The parent organs usurp unto themselves the right to settle nonpolitical matters. But do they have enough knowledge in this field?" Wieslawa Wytyczak, chairman of the council in Orzel ZPL in Myslakowice, ended her statement with the following conclusion: "We take offense at many of the evaluations."

The controversies swirling in the discussion ended with an unexpected accolade. Deputy minister Jedrzejczak, when asked whether the workers' councils help or hinder, replied: "From the very moment the workers' councils began their operations as provided under the law, the ministry's leadership saw the organs of the workforce self-management as a partner who will assist in the fulfillment of government plans and programs. Thus far, we have not been disappointed in our expectations and highly value the self-management activity in the enterprises of the chemical and light industry."

On the other hand, the Sejm Commission for Self-Management Affairs, as its chairman, deputy Stanislaw Kania, said, praised the actions of those ministries which aim to strengthen the position of the self-managements. The self-management's endeavors in economic matters are regarded to be of paramount importance. "Everything must be done to make the activists in this field want to work and be able to work," underscored the Commission chairman.

#### What Game Do We Play?

Let us pause a moment at this grave problem. A few days ago (15 May) the Council of Ministers received the draft report on the application of economic reform last year. The report on its meeting (RZECZPOSPOLITA No 113, 1987) contained the following conclusion: The tendency towards the growth of activeness and the position of workforce self-management (...) which has appeared over the last few years, was confirmed (...) and strengthened last year. This has been demonstrated by the activeness of self-management in the economic sphere of enterprises and by its substantive participation in the planning process."

The question arises, will the above favorable tendency also continue this year? This is not a panicky question, because some self-management activists say that they face a very urgent problem: What game do they play?

"The striving by self-management for efficiency, in the face of a 12 percent wage threshold and "guillotine" taxation--which, starting this year, also affects additional allowances for the social fund, is not in the interest of the enterprise's workforce," said the chairman of the council of one of the Warsaw factories at a seminar of the Warsaw chapter of the Polish Sociological Society. "Efficiency means utilization of hidden reserves. Today we get nothing in return. And maybe after a year there will be. So what should we do?"--he asked himself and answered his own question: "We concern ourselves with everything except efficiency and--wait. Because the time may come when it will pay."

Although this reasoning is oversimplified, purposely exaggerated and not entirely real, it is not isolated and is disturbing. Whether anyone likes it or not, that is how the self-management activists, including those in leadership, view the consequences of the current financial rigors. Pro-export production, materials savings, i.e., operations which raise the wage threshold, are not always and everywhere possible and worth the effort.

The opinions, mentioned earlier, that self-management has become "swollen" and is losing its breath, are linked precisely to the fact of this unachieved higher wage threshold.

The fears, greater than necessary for the current situation, also pertain to the issue of self-management and the "Theses." They were not well-received. "That which is contained in the draft documents pertaining to the second stage of reform arose without our knowledge and without consultation with the commission," explained chairman S.Kania to the deputies and the self-management conferees. For example, the concept of dividing state enterprises into two groups, manager and self-management, appeared. In the former, the role of self-management would be greatly reduced, and its function would be limited to offering advice and opinions. The main figure would be the managing director, and alongside him, a supervisory council which would assume most of the present powers of the self-management. Obviously, we cannot agree to that." The deputy added that nevertheless there are reasons for optimism, "Because of our influence, and that of others, the decision was made to reject certain unconsidered proposals."

That caused a stir, as mentioned at the meeting by the chairman from STILON, A. Pieprzyk. "It is said that there are not enough people who want to get involved in self-management activities. This is the result of everything that is happening in the country around self-management. At the Sixth Conference we protested against the plans to limit the role of self-management in managing the economy. Later we expressed this at a meeting with the premier, who acknowledged our arguments. And so we awaited the documents describing the gist of the second stage of reform with confidence. But the draft submitted in the Commission for Economic Reform produced disappointment and proof that concepts are always reappearing which do not favor workers' self-management."

There are those who say that that is very good: At a time of threat, the threatened group closes its ranks and the circumstances force it to become active. These attempts to "attack self-management" can stimulate development of the self-management movement. The best proof of this was the defense against the amending of the law on self-management and the enterprise. But others are already tired of this and are asking: How long can we go on like this? Not everyone is capable of doing social work which, on the one hand, requires openness and trust, and on the other hand, behavior reminiscent of existence in a besieged fortress.

Some disappointment in the vision of self-management contained in the "Theses" stems from the fact, I think, that in other fields far-reaching, detailed proposals have been submitted. In the self-management portion, aside from some weighty but general statements, there are no specifics. Therefore, self-management in the second stage will probably be shaped by proposals and suggestions containing gaps which, let us hope, the self-management people will fill.

#### Conclusions From Proposals

Because we are talking about the next ones, let us mention the fate of the proposals and suggestions submitted at the Sixth Conference.

A report on implementation of the desideratum sent to the premier on this matter was submitted at the meeting by Andrzej Paczos, the deputy minister of labor, wages and social affairs, who reports to the Council of Ministers on contacts with self-management. He said that the government gave the discussions and proposals the greatest attention. Let us remember that the best proof of this was the reduction of the packet of 11 laws which were originally to be amended, and particularly the abandonment of these intentions in relation to two of the primary laws on reform: on the enterprise and on self-management. It appeared from the statement made by the deputy minister that all of the remaining proposals, opinions and demands were sent for implementation to the appropriate central organs of state administration. The timetable for their implementation covered 89 proposals pertaining to many measures applied in reform, planning, financial management, price-tax policy management, the co-production system, raw-materials supply, self-management, and cooperation with the workers' councils by organs of the state administration and the economic administration. Many proposals, said the deputy minister, were included in the second-stage plans, some are being implemented, e.g., proposals concerning the organizing of temporary subsector and regional conferences.

The explanations did not satisfy the members of the proposals commission invited to the Sejm. Jan Zelek, council chairman in Sanok Bus Factory did not find a trace of his proposal, or a reflection of what others said, in the timetable. "I think that those who did not receive a reply to half of their proposals will not be happy. This really threatens a loss of credibility in similar initiatives. Those who submitted proposals must be given satisfaction." On the other hand, the council chairman from BUMAR-LUBEDA Combine, Bernard Cenkalik, maintains that not only are the participants of the Sixth Conference interested in the replies, but self-management activists as a

whole. He suggested that the list of submitted proposals be published. "I am convinced that the councils are very interested in this document and will willingly pay for it." Stefania Bodziewicz, council chairman in Koszalin Wood Industry Enterprise, had reservations as to how the conferences are conducted. The one that she attended (in the Ministry of Agriculture) did not go as smoothly and easily as the deputy minister's report indicated. "It was really an automatic 'check-off' system. It was established at the beginning that first the minister would take the floor, then the department director and the association director, but the council chairman were not given the right to speak."

"Indeed, perhaps my comments sounded too optimistic," admitted the deputy minister. "In the future in preparing a similar report, the opinions of the conferees should be obtained, and not just those of the organizers."

And that is how the mechanism for reacting to what was said at the conference was formed. But the mechanism does not operate smoothly. Contrary to appearances, it is not easy to get out of this kind of situation. Failure to reply to a proposal is bad, but to give a vague reply is even worse. I have already written about how hard it is ("Spirit and Letter," ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE, No 1, 1987), so I can only repeat that the reply must deal with the merits of the case and cannot "hang in air."

Among the proposals there were also those which pertained to closer cooperation between the people's councils and the self-managements, which would make it possible to satisfy local and community needs more effectively. The Sejm Commission, at its last meeting, as I already mentioned, followed in their path. Using Lodz (as mentioned by the chairman of the Commission for Self-Management People's Council in Lodz, Klemens Kwiatkowski), Warsaw and other cities as an example, the experience in these two cities served as an incentive. The councils not only reach out for subsidies but help however and wherever they can. The chairman of the Warsaw commission, Stanislaw Kryszkiewicz, spoke about the exchange of experience among council activists at the commission meetings. The sociological studies, which the commission sponsors, and the statements made by the activists, show that the system of authority in the enterprise, as created by reform, is beginning to slowly evolve. "Elements of cooperation, prevailing over rivalry, are beginning to be seen," said Kryszkiewicz. "But it continues to be necessary to closely observe the division of jurisdiction among the organs of the enterprise--because it is here that the chairmen of the workers' councils expose the lack of sufficient understanding, on all levels, of the laws regulating the functioning of self-managements and their jurisdiction."

Reports are also sent to the workers' self-managements about the existence in the enterprises and the consolidation of unofficial organs of authority in the form of so-called "management collectives" and leadership groups which are made up of the chairmen and heads of sociopolitical and youth organizations. As long as the opinions of such groups are only in the nature of recommendations, everything is all right. But experience has shown that there

is a real danger that collegial and statutory organs are being replaced, that legal procedures are being ignored in decisionmaking, and as a result, authority is beginning to be concentrated in the hands of a very narrow group of people, which constitutes a threat to the very essence of workers' self-management.

And this arouses anxiety and resistance. And that is exactly the point. "This self-management," as was said, "does not want to be the loser and does not want reform to lose out."

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## OPZZ CRITIQUE OF NEW REFORM THESES VIEWED

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 23, 7 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by T.J.: "Government-Trade Union Dialogue"]

[Text] A joint meeting of the Executive Board of the Council of Ministers and the OPZZ (Trade Unions) Council, attended by a group of deputies (union members) and all of the ministers of the economic ministries, on the subject of the second stage of reform, was held on 25 May. The official purpose of the meeting was to discuss the government's "Theses" and the unions' "An Alternative Concept for the Implementation of the Assumptions of Economic Reform." The meeting lasted almost 7 hours. There were no changes of position on the fundamental matters, and both documents were deemed to be inconsistent, with the greatest inconsistency, unfortunately, ascribed to the union document. I say "unfortunately," because regardless of the quality of the "Theses," the alternative presented is unacceptable, even though it is cloaked in populist phraseology and style.

I called attention to a few weak points in "Alternatives" in my discussion of this document (ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE No 21, 1987), but Minister Stanislaw Zieba called attention to the most damaging part during the meeting, i.e., that the essence of "Alternatives" lies in the reorientation of farm policy on the premise that agriculture escalates inflation by raising procurement prices in order to ensure that production will be profitable for even the weakest farms.

Minister Zieba correctly, in my opinion, stated that if the food market is the most balanced market in Poland today, it is due primarily to agricultural policy, which is finally stable. Any attempts to destabilize this policy may do more harm than good.

Based on the number of utterances and their temperature, several main reasons for the unions' criticism of reform, as presented in the "Theses," can be listed. Criticism, let us add, which reflects the impatience and frustration carried into the meeting from the factory floors.

First, the unionists say that there can be no credible concept of a second stage when the government has failed to make an honest accounting of the implementation of the first stage. Both premier Zbigniew Messner and deputy premier Zdzislaw Sadowski, reminded, therefore, that never before has the

state of the Polish economy been described as comprehensively as it has been since the beginning of reform. But it seems to me that the unionists are not so much concerned about this type of an analysis as they are about a directly expressed self-criticism.

The second charge pertained to a lack of instruments in the "Theses" to stimulate supply, as the main way of restoring market--and more broadly, economic, balance. This gives the impression that the government intends to use prices to achieve this balance. Deputy premier Sadowski did not accept this charge, saying that the leitmotiv of the "Theses," i.e., the betting on ingenuity and innovation, is aimed at exactly that--stimulation of production efficiency. All of the "Theses" are thus supply-directed. I got the impression that those attending the meeting were not convinced by this argument, that it was too general.

Third, the union members demanded that a detailed timetable for application of the entire set of second-stage reform measures be presented. This demand stemmed, I believe, from the fact that of the measures embodied in the "Theses," only the price operation was precisely defined in terms of time. In answer to these demands, premier Messner remarked that reform is a process, not an act, and that in this process some second-stage measures are already being applied, others will be applied soon, and still others, later.

Fourth and last, the unionists vehemently rejected a proposal that labor laws be changed, saying that if the government brings in real reform, changes will not be necessary in the labor code to improve work discipline.

Finally, it seems to me that we should call attention to a certain, really small episode from this meeting, but one which signals the second bottom of the discussion being carried on between the unionists and the administration. Namely, the vice chairman of the OPZZ Economic Commission, Stefan Piwonski, said: "As I miner, I say that nothing has been done thus far in regard to fuel and raw-materials savings, and nothing is proposed in the "Theses." Minister Jerzy Wozniak denied this, citing figures illustrating a reduction of 9 to 11 percent in the energy- and materials-intensiveness of the national economy during 1982-1986.

Without questioning the figures given by the minister, one cannot help but observe that for a miner the measure of progress in the reduction of energy-intensiveness is not percentages, but a lessening of the economy's pressure for coal, making it possible to shorten the miners' workweek. The argument missed the mark, therefore, although it would have taken only a little imagination to foresee this.

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## PZPR CC ECONOMIC COMMISSION DISCUSSES REFORM DOCUMENT

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 23, 7 Jun 87 p 5

[Article by E.M.: "We Must Do the Reform"]

[Text] The "Theses" on the second stage of economic reform underwent their first evaluation by the Commission on Economic Policy, Economic Reform, Self-Management and Social Welfare, at a meeting held on 21 May. The evaluation was critical and differentiated, but on the whole it was favorable, indicating that this was a necessary document and one capable of stimulating an exchange of opinions on the shape of reform and on the reforming process itself.

The meeting, which was attended by many invited guests in addition to the Commission members, was chaired by Politburo member and CC secretary, Marian Wozniak. It was opened by Franciszek Kubiczek, secretary of the Commission on Economic Reform, followed by deputy premier Prof Zdzislaw Sadowski.

In discussing the main themes of the "Theses," Kubiczek called attention to such controversial matters as the problem of ownership, use of bonds, the ability of employees to purchase stock in enterprises, the right to work and payment for work, and the "economization" (as he termed it) of services. He said that the main themes deal with such difficult problems as balancing the economy, making economic parameters more realistic, reducing subsidies, "marketing" the economy (or its particular parts), and they also put forth bold proposals on treating some problems differently, e.g., by enterprise (meaning the ability to undertake economic initiatives without constraint).

Prof Zdzislaw Sadowski suggested subjects for discussion, specifically naming legislation, which should aim at outlining the scope and setting a schedule for indispensable legislative work (because there are still some very large gaps here); economics, pointing to ways of ensuring consistency between economic policy and institutional measures; organizations, covering elimination of monopolies and the functioning of the marketplace: supply, investment, labor and restructuring of the central government; theory, describing the interconnection between economics and policy, the new logic of managing under a sociopolitical system, the concept of planning socialization, guidelines for socioeconomic policy, and the role of self-management. In

expanding on certain problems, the speaker also asked some specific questions (e.g., is it possible to simultaneously strengthen the position of the directors and self-management?) and expressed his own opinions.

He said, for example, that the faith in self-management's capabilities is exaggerated, that the "marketing" of the economy is falsely conceived, as seen by the fact that the plan and the marketplace are at odds. There is no such philosophy in the assumptions of reform. The state retains important functions in the process of socioeconomic development--it defines the policy assumptions in this field, establishes the instruments which ensure policy implementation, concerns itself with preparation of cadres, and fulfills societal functions in accordance with the principle of the political system.

The discussion quickly went beyond the limits outlined in the opening remarks. The construction and character of the "Theses" met with the severest criticism. In the opinion of Dr Tadeusz Fuks from the Institute of State and Law in the Polish Academy of Sciences, this document is so written that it lacks the mobilizing force to arouse the "activeness of the masses." It does not convince us that this reform will succeed where the others have failed.

In the opinion of Prof Henryk Sadownik, president of the Scientific Society of Organization and Administration, the construction of the "Theses" is simply bad. It contains no answer to the question of where we are and why, after 5 years of economic reform, we are still where we are. And this is essential if we are to know where we are heading. How we arrive at where we are heading must be reconsidered (the speaker promised to submit a proposal in writing in this matter).

Another important charge was made during this "unmitigated" criticism: The "Theses" do not rank tasks according to their importance, nor do they describe a strategy for solving the country's economic problems.

Naturally, not even one was as severe in the overall assessment of the text being discussed as the opinion of Andrzej Wietrzykowski, Voivodship Committee secret 'run, it performs an important educational role. The chairman of the (Trade Unions) Economic Commission, Wojciech Wisniewski, praised the boldness with which the problems were set forth: enterprise, economic surpluses, the role of the central authorities--but he thought, too, that it is difficult to determine from the "Theses" how the second stage of reform is supposed to be constructed ("this is a component part of reform"). According to Prof Tadeusz Grabowski from the Military Political Academy, on the contrary--the "Theses" indicate the correct direction of the changes, but they should be made more quickly. As reported by Wietrzykowski, participants of a discussion in Torun voivodship also favored a more rapid pace of reform.

For Prof Jozef Pajestka the sense of the discussion on the "Theses" comes down to making the basic choices involved in economic reform, because we cannot expect any new "economic inventions" or "economic miracles."

The important problems brought up in the discussion include those of economic balance and inflation. Professor Pajestka also spoke about this, pointing to the destructive effects of inflation. It has also weakened the Yugoslavian

and Hungarian economic systems, he said (in Hungary it appeared in the form of an increasingly slower rate of growth), and that is why the battle with inflation should be conducted on all fronts.

Prof Wieslaw Iskra reminded that although it was initially thought that economic reform should help to restore balance, later it turned out that balance is indispensable if reform is to be applied. He asked whether we are able to balance the economy at all and whether in view of that we should not think about constructing mechanisms which are able to function when economic balance is lacking.

An important problem which was not presented clearly enough in the "Theses" was deemed to be a definition of what the self-dependence of an enterprise should be based upon, what role the self-management is assigned in managing the enterprise, and what the rights of the enterprise are supposed to be in disposing of the earned surplus. On the other hand, consideration was given to the possibility of applying economic compulsion and criteria for evaluating management results. The most important conditions for granting enterprises self-dependence were deemed to be the establishment of consistent legal limits and permanent operating rules. It is not right, remarked Prof H. Sadownik, to set the enterprise cadre against the self-management. Self-management can improve the conditions under which the enterprise directors function.

Naturally, the central authorities were at the opposite pole of the reform problems being discussed. Professor Pajestka, saying that in the past he was cautious in his approach to the restructuring of the central organs of management, attacked them violently this time. The central apparatus, he said, has turned out to be incapable of making structural changes and applying the mechanisms of reform. The application of reform means that the function of the state must be explained, so that we do not lose all ideological orientation, Pajestka continued. Money should be real, as should be a self-dependent enterprise and also market mechanisms, but they should be adapted to the socialist system and the rules of social justice. The professor said this a tone which suggested that the movement in the offices would begin immediately, tomorrow.

The second part of Professor Pajestka's argument referred to another theme in the discussion, one which had already been brought up in the introduction by Dr Fuks, who charged the "Theses" with a certain vagueness or ideological equivocation. In speaking on this subject, Prof Maciej Perozynski said that he sees no difficulty in accepting the marketplace as an element of the socialist economy. There could have been such doubts when, indeed, attempts were made to use the marketplace in the struggle with socialism. Now the marketplace is necessary, but it must be a regulated marketplace. On the other hand, the uncontrolled, "barbaric" marketplace, developing alongside, arouses opposition. In view of it, a position must be taken and this marketplace must be "civilized."

With greater or lesser public support, reform must take place, said Marian Wozniak in a final statement. There is no guarantee that it will be successful. And we should not scare the people with threats of unemployment and the central authorities with threats of elimination. Skilled department

managers are always necessary, in every system. Despite all obstacles, management standards should be raised and the opinion that the manager is only an appendage to a self-managing enterprise should be rejected. We should also correctly understand the role of self-management, which should not consist of management on a day-by-day basis. It is an organ of social control which participates in designating strategic goals. The speaker admitted that he still does not have all of the answers to questions on how a good self-management should function. Naturally, the state must play an important part in directing economic development, but it should promote, ~~not~~ constrain, the initiatives of other organizations.

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## SEJM REVIEWS DRAFT LAW ON INNOVATIVE COMPANIES

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 23, 7 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by Krzysztof Fronczak: "Innovative Companies"]

[Text] After many vicissitudes the long-awaited draft law on innovative-applications companies finally reached the Sejm. Its first reading took place on 27 May, and thus began the final parliamentary stage of its long journey, during which consultations were held, advice was offered, and changes were made. Interestingly enough, the name also succumbed to change. Initially, as we recall, the talk was about small innovative enterprises, then about small innovative companies, and finally the present name was accepted. But however we look at it, the draft pertains to small companies of a distinctly innovative character.

The draft law is the result of demands made for many years by the scientific-technical community. These issues were also covered in the resolutions of the Tenth PZPR Congress, the Polish Engineers Congress, and in the "Theses" of the second stage of economic reform. The provisions of the law are supposed to speed up the pace of the research-development-applications cycle. This is now undoubtedly one of the weakest elements in our scientific-technical progress.

To justify the draft law, a great deal has been written about the purpose and need for such a law. It is a fact that this need can be seen with the naked eye, even if the overall development of engineering in Poland during the world technological revolution is examined quite superficially. And the professionals see this both from afar and close. But it would be a mistake to expect innovative companies to be a panacea for all of the ailments in this field. This was emphasized at a Sejm meeting on 27 May by both the minister-director of the Office of Scientific-Technical Progress and Applications, Konrad Tott, who submitted the draft law, and by some deputies who took part in the discussion.

The draft, in the form submitted to the Sejm by the government, differs slightly from previous versions, but it retains, one might say, the basic framework of the documents described formerly in our newspaper. Therefore, I will mention only some of its most characteristic features. And it should not be necessary, I might add, to say that since it is a draft, it can again be changed in the Sejm commissions.

In the introductory part, the concept of innovative companies is defined. It should be noted, that as already provided in article 1 of the draft, "the general provisions pertaining to the functioning and the principles of organizing and liquidating economic establishments apply to innovative companies unless the provisions of this law state otherwise." This stipulation is so important that even during the first reading doubts arose as to whether or not at a later date innovative companies may become the enclaves of other organizations which are governed by their own laws.

The economic institutions which may fall under this law include state enterprises, R&D centers, cooperatives, foreign-capital companies, and social organizations conducting economic activity through separate economic establishments. Within the understanding of the law, these are also legal persons who are not entities in the socialized economy, natural persons, civil-law companies, commercial companies, plants belonging to institutions of the socialized economy, Polish Academy of Sciences scientific institutions, and higher schools maintaining their own accounts and doing innovative-applications work under contract. If the above-mentioned economic establishments conduct activity aimed at the development and application of scientific, technical and organizational achievements--the writers of the draft propose--they become innovative-applications companies (henceforth the term "innovative companies" is used) after fulfilling the requirements then described in the document. Entry into the register of innovative companies will confirm that these requirements have been fulfilled.

To conduct the above-described activities, companies may be formed using the funds of the state treasury, banks, public-sector organizations, or natural persons.

The Office of Scientific-Technical Progress and Applications (OSTPA) will conduct the registration. In order to be registered, products must be manufactured or services rendered which are the result of the first application of scientific, technical or organizational achievements, but within 3 years of the date that their application began.

The present version of the draft, as distinct from the preceding ones, treats two types of innovative companies separately. Companies which concentrate their operations on application, production and rendering of innovative services, would be held to a legal maximum of 50 employees. On the other hand, companies conducting innovative sales and organizing applications activity would not be subject to the employment limit specified in the draft law. Another difference would be that the former companies would be exempt from tax on above-norm wage payments, while the latter companies would not be entitled to this exemption.

The matter of the 50-employee limit in the innovative company, which aroused a great deal of controversy from the very start of the work on the law, can be solved in another way. Namely, the minister-director of OSTPA, in justified cases according to the draft law, would be authorized to raise this limit to 100 employees. The problem of the percentage of participation in receipts from innovative activities, as a condition for qualifying for registration as an innovative company--which was discussed extensively in the past--was

supposed to be solved in a similar manner. In the present version, at least 70 percent of receipts from innovative activity is deemed necessary for qualification for registration. But here too, an exception could be made and in particularly justified cases the OSTPA director could specify a different percentage of receipts, but not less than 50 percent.

The draft law next lists far-reaching tax allowances and preferences. This is without a doubt the part of the document which most interests the potential OSTPA contracting parties. Lack of space does not permit me to go into detail and I will not do so also because when money is being talked about it is best to familiarize oneself with a final version, and this is, after all, a draft.

Innovative companies can expect preferences in allocation of supplies (the document speaks of "guarantees of supplies"), they will be able to apply contractual prices on goods and services without restriction, and they will be able to obtain licenses to conduct foreign trade on very favorable terms.

Something which is entirely new in the latest version of the document is article 14, which says simply: "When the innovative company is a natural person, this person, insofar as innovative activity is concerned, is exempt from the requirement that a permit to conduct manufacturing, service or trade activity must be obtained, and from the requirement that the professional qualifications described in separate regulations must be demonstrated, if he or she has secondary-school skills in this field." This rather revolutionary determination had the effect, as one OSTPA representative said behind the scenes, of the proverbial stick in the anthill. The authors of the draft law are being castigated by the legitimist officeholders in the people's councils and in the Central Union of Cooperatives who are accustomed to having professional qualifications decided in a specific way and confirmed by a document bearing a seal.

Interestingly, the draft law does not provide for issuance of executive acts. This is in accordance with the assumption--also made in the earlier versions--that all important matters pertaining to innovative companies were embodied in a single, clear and condensed, legal act of lawful standing.

The law, as expected, will have as many supporters as opponents. The very need for issuance of such an act arouses some basic controversy. There are many who believe that scientific-technical progress cannot be produced "piecemeal", that in a normally functioning economy innovation is understandable in itself. From this point of view, the law will only be a crutch for a crippled body. Such very anxious views are being expressed especially in the large state enterprises and R&D centers, which (if they want to continue as of old) will not be able to reach the carrot of tax reliefs and other preferences, because they have little or no chance to show that 70 percent of their receipts come exclusively from innovative activity. This is a barrier which by its very nature favors small companies. But it seems also that to some degree these attitudes also stem from the fear of the unknown. Minister Konrad Tott called attention to that in his speech at the Sejm.

Sometimes some very "civic" arguments about the formation of a caste of newly-rich are advanced against the law because, indeed, it will be possible to earn a better-than-average wage in a small, innovative company. This problem was brought up in the discussion by deputy Elzbieta Rutkowska (PZPR) when she asked:

"Actually, why should not the innovator earn more money?"

Further in her utterance she seemed to have somewhat toned down her question when she spoke about the fears that innovative companies, because of their earnings appeal, will become enclaves to which the most enterprising and able people from industry, the higher schools and R&D centers, will flee. That is why she demanded, just as did deputy Małgorzata Niepokulczycka (Independent) that the system of preferences provided in the draft law cover all innovative activity, regardless of other criteria.

Deputy Jan Kaczmarek (PZPR) said:

"This is a precedent for the similar creation of laws on R&D centers and higher schools."

The understanding of the role of science and technical progress probably makes Minister Tott happy, but it would be interesting to know what the minister of finances thinks about the system of universal preferences.

Deputy Jerzy Golinski (Independent, PAX) expressed the opinion that in its present form the law can be rather freely interpreted. He feels that giving the director of OSTPA complete freedom to decide whether a company is innovative or not, and to arbitrarily decide to lower the 70 percent threshold of receipts from innovative activity, or raise the employee limit, should be regarded with apprehension. This gives rise, as deputy Golinski described it, to the danger of entering into private and crooked deals. The speaker also said that a restriction on the participation of those responsible for scientific, technical and organizational achievements in trade companies is disputable.

In the opinion of deputy Andrzej Faracik (SD), who generally supported the idea of the law, the draft promotes the creation of differences between economic organizations, which conflicts with the assumptions of economic reform and the policy against monopolies. He also wonders whether it is right that a company can only be registered as an innovative company based on the production of goods or the offering of services which are the result of a first application, given that sometimes applications are employed which for various reasons had been formerly discontinued.

Deputy Danuta Grzywaczewska (PZPR), on the other hand, wondered whether the present draft provides all of the safeguards contained in the labor code. because after the preferential status of the innovative companies has been in effect for 3 years, it may be eliminated and then the people employed will find themselves without a job. It seems to this writer that these fears are exaggerated. As a matter of fact, this draft law could be written so as to include not only the labor code but other codes also. The only question is, at what point would we lose its basic theme?

Twelve deputies spoke during the discussion on the government's draft law on innovative-applications companies. Despite all kinds of reservations, they supported the draft. But it is understood that only after it has been sent to the commissions will the real work on the final form of the document begin.

## BRIEFS

SOVIET JOINT VENTURE TALKS--In POWAR-Ostrzeszow Mechanical Equipment Factory in Kalisz Voivodship--the country's largest producer and exporter of electromagnetic clutches--preparations are underway to form a joint Polish-Soviet enterprise. The authorized representative for the Soviet side, Ivan Yegorovitch Boyko, USSR consul general in Poznan, paid a working visit here on 1 June, accompanied by the PZPR VC first secretary in Kalisz, Jan Janicki. The visitors wanted to know the status of the preparations for the joint venture and the feelings and opinions of the workforce regarding it. The joint venture also provides for expansion and modernization of the Ostrzeszow factory. At present, the factory produces 500,000 clutches a year but future production will total 1 million units, of which 800,000 will go to Soviet industry, 100,000 to the Polish side, and the remainder will be exported to other countries. [By Janusz Nowicki] [Text] [Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 3 Jun 87 pp 1,2] 9295

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## HEALTH CARE PLANS REVEALED

Prague PRACE in Czech 18 Jun 87 p 5

[Interview with Alexander Fuchs, MD, ScC, chairman of the department for planned research at the CSR Ministry of Health, with Vit Smrcka: "Science Helps Medicine"]

[Text] No scientific discipline can progress without searching for new knowledge. Medicine is no exception. Broad strata of our public are keenly interested in the achievements of medical research because most of new discoveries are directly applied in medical practice and immediately affect the population. The scientific and technical program for our medical system up to year 2000 is now being approved on various levels; R&D is its integral part. With regards to this document we requested an interview with Alexander Fuchs, MD, ScC, the chairman of the department for planned research at the CSR Ministry of Health.

[Question] Which areas of public health care will be the focus of medical research in the coming years?

[Answer] Before year 2000 our whole health system, including research, will focus on primary prevention of diseases. The priority of medical research should be therefore tasks supporting the national health care program and moreover, research of hygiene of the living and working environment and possibly other areas. These national medical programs include care for mother and child, care for the elderly and chronically ill, and cardiovascular, oncological and virological programs.

[Question] In which areas of medicine must science play its most meaningful role?

[Answer] That involves above all cardiovascular diseases which account for more than 50 percent of all deaths and are the main cause of work disability; cardiac ischemia affects increasing numbers of young people of both sexes. As concerns cardiovascular diseases, our aim is a gradual transition from secondary to primary prevention. Another purpose of research is to obtain materials for improvement and completion of comprehensive programs of care for diabetics in the CSSR, because vascular complications in diabetes demand special attention.

Another widespread pathology with an increasing incidence includes oncological diseases. Their research aims at further advances of the knowledge of biological, chemical and physical carcinogenesis and also immunology and diagnosis of tumors. Naturally, our research is equally focused on methods of therapy.

[Question] Our medicine has a tradition of successful transplants of vital organs.

[Answer] The research of transplants of vital organs in our country has reached a high level, as confirmed, among other things, by the number of such transplants. For instance, before the end of 1986 our surgeons transplanted 1,294 kidneys, 7 livers and 12 hearts. Research in this area of medicine will be directed, among other things, on experiments and later on clinical methods of transplantation.

[Question] Following worldwide trends our population will grow older before the end of this century. How will our research deal with this problem?

[Answer] Indeed, according to demographic prognoses the first quarter of the next century will be an era of an aging population and of old people. In particular the number of persons of the productive age will relatively decline. Unfortunately, gerontology in our country stands somewhat apart from the system of anthropological sciences and does not have an appropriate established institution with a solid organizational structure. Research here will be therefore focused on improving the quality of life in post-productive age.

[Question] What do you expect from research of respiratory diseases which as a rule affect our population on a mass scale?

[Answer] Medical statistics indicate that respiratory diseases are the main cause of work disability. The fight against diseases demands preparation and testing of better methods of prevention and prompt diagnosis. Moreover, new tasks are facing our research in tuberculosis, a disease which we thought had been eradicated years ago; now it is making a comeback in our country.

[Question] Has your research joined the fight against AIDS, and if so, can our researchers envisage some breakthrough in this area?

[Answer] We have not set up any special tasks. The research of this insidious disease is focused in particular on two other tasks of the state plan, namely, epidemiology and transfusology. In our conditions we were unable to isolate these problems from other research tasks. As for the second part of your question, I shall offer you an example from the past. When an effective drug against syphilis was found, its number was 606, which means that the preceding 605 drugs were ineffective. It may happen that the search for a suitable drug against AIDS will be just as painstaking.

[Question] In which areas of medicine may we expect further advances in the coming years?

[Answer] A rapid development may be envisaged particularly in several biomedical sciences where molecular biology will probably continue to advance. We anticipate further progress in other areas as well. The achievements of mathematics and physics, biomathematics, information theory and computer technology will find broader application in medicine.

**AIDS STATISTICS UPDATED**

Bratislava SMER in Slovak 12 Jun 87 p 2

[Interview with Tomas Geist, MD, ScC, director of Regional Hygiene Clinic in Banska Bystrica, by Ivan Jary: "Everyone Can Protect Himself"]

[Excerpt] More than 50,000 cases [of AIDS] have been reported in the world, 35,000 of them in the United States. However, it is estimated that as many as 20 times that number go unreported. As of today, 8 cases have been diagnosed in the CSSR, 4 of them in the CSR and 4 in the SSR. Two of the patients in the SSR died. All cases were reported in Bratislava. No case of AIDS has occurred as yet in the [Central Slovakia] kraj.

Pursuant to the decree of the SSR Ministry of Health, our kraj began testing individual groups of citizens. Thus far serological tests of an antitoxin against the HIB virus in the blood serum involved more than 70,000 persons in the SSR, of whom more than 13,500 individuals were tested in our kraj; all were blood donors and some from the risk groups. Blood donors in the whole kraj are being tested in the Regional Transfusion Clinic in Banska Bystrica, where not only every donor is tested but also blood donated subsequently is tested. Other groups of citizens are tested in the Research Institute for Preventive Medicine in Bratislava; as of 1 January 1988 this testing will be conducted in the Regional Hygiene Clinic in Banska Bystrica. The CSSR has a total of 47 serologically positive cases--39 in the CSR and 8 in the SSR; 3 of them are foreigners.

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## NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS FOR COLLEGE STUDY INCREASES

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 3 Jun 87 p 1

[Article by (kva): "More Students Will Attend College"]

[Text] This year our colleges in the CSR will admit for regular courses of study almost 22,000 students, or 1,200 more than last year. However, the total number of applicants is more than 41,000.

A whole half of them are women who predominate in certain fields; 67 percent of applicants for medical schools are women, and even more women want to register in departments of philosophy and in teachers college. About one fourth of applications to technical colleges are submitted by girls. As representatives of the CSR Ministry of Education informed us yesterday, this is because only about 30 percent of the class of 1987 were boys.

The humanities attract traditionally great interest, but even some of our technical colleges cannot complain about a scarcity of applicants. However, the interest in chemistry has markedly declined and applied geophysics and solid-state physics are among the fields where the number of applicants is less than 50 percent.

Almost 15,000 employees, or 350 percent of the plan, applied for correspondence courses in the CSR. The interest in technical fields exceeds the capacities by almost 60 percent. The number of applicants for agricultural colleges is twice as high as the number of admissions. The greatest interest is in law, with 9 applicants for each opening. As for teachers colleges, the plan for the current year is unrestricted and the number of admissions depends on the potential and capacity of the colleges.

This is the third year that some technical colleges waived examinations for admission for students who completed secondary school with a certain average which differs for every field, depending on the number of applicants and placements.

Other examinations for admission to regular study will take place from 15 through 20 June. Examinations for correspondence study of employed applicants which are already underway will end on 20 June.

## SLIGHT INCREASE IN SLOVAKIA'S POPULATION

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 17 Jun 87 p 5

[Article by Eng Michal Tirpak, Slovak Bureau of Statistics: "SSR Population in 1986"]

[Text] In 1986 the population of the SSR continued to grow despite the basic declining population trends. The number of live births dropped and the number of deaths increased as a result of the declining age of our population, especially because fewer women are in the most important reproductive age range and more persons are in the post-productive age. Furthermore, the declining trend is connected with the changes in our citizens' attitudes to reproduction, such as planned parenthood and a trend toward families with fewer children. Due to such a development the natural growth of our population has been declining year after year.

There were 38.3 [thousand] marriages, or 0.6 thousand less than in 1985. The rate of marriages was down in every kraj of the SSR, especially in the Central Slovakia Kraj, mainly because most of the potential candidates for marriage who have now reached the age when most marriages take place were born in years of a low birth rate. An even greater drop in the rate of marriages was averted by a higher divorce rate and consequent second and further marriages.

There were 8.3 thousand divorced, or 0.5 thousand more than in 1985. The divorce rate rose in every kraj of the SSR. Bratislava, the capital city of the SSR, has been highly exceeding the all-Slovakia average for a number of years. For every 100 marriages there were 21.7 divorces, as compared with 20 divorces in 1985.

There were 85.7 thousand live births, or 3.5 thousand less than in 1985. A declining birth rate was reported from every kraj in the SSR, in particular from the East Slovakia Kraj. The share of the first- and second-born children increased, while the number of third and subsequent births declined. The trend toward 2-children families was obvious.

There were 50.1 thousand abortions, or 4.5 thousand more than 1985. For each 100 live births there were 57.5 abortions, or almost 7 more than in 1985. The rate of abortions increased in every kraj, especially in the capital city of the SSR, Bratislava, and in the East Slovakia Kraj.

In 1986 53.0 thousand persons died, 0.5 thousand more than in 1985. The rate of deaths differed in individual krajs. In West Slovakia it was up, in the capital city of the SSR, Bratislava, and in the Central Slovakia Kraj it declined, while in the East Slovakia Kraj it remained on the 1985 level.

Infant and newborn mortality developed satisfactorily. There were 127 fewer infant deaths than in 1985. The rate of infant deaths was down to 15.5 per thousand and of newborn deaths down to 9.7 per thousand. Both rates dropped to the lowest level in the SSR thus far.

Due to fewer births and more deaths the natural demographic growth declined to 33.7 thousand, i.e., 4,000 persons. The decline was evident in every kraj of the SSR, especially in the East Slovakia Kraj.

Due to the migration within the CSSR the number of the SSR population declined by 4.1 thousand persons. The effect of citizens' emigration abroad on our demographic situation was negligible.

The total annual increase of the population--29,400 persons--was almost 5,000 below that of 1985. As of 31 December 1985 the number of the citizens of the SSR was 5,208,374, or 33.5 percent of the CSSR total.

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